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The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

How My Mind Has Changed
By Karl Barth

Instead of the Alliance
An Editorial

Why Youth Programs Fail
By Wesner Fallaw

Finland Is Not Afraid
By John I. Kolehmainen

MARCH 9, 1949

In This Issue

KARL BARTH

opens the series on "How My Mind Has Changed During the Past Decade" by telling of the stirring events connected with his defiance of Hitler which made him a world figure. Long before that, of course, he had become known in church circles as one of the most challenging theologians of recent decades. Dr. Barth is now on the faculty of the University of Zurich in his native Switzerland. His article will be concluded next week.

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

is professor of political science at Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio. He has written extensively on Finnish-American relations, his most recent book being *The Finns in America: A Bibliographical Guide to Their History.* He wrote the article on Finnish-Russian relations in the recently published *Slavonic Encyclopedia.*

WESNER FALLAW

is professor of religious education at Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.

EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN

is professor of philosophy at Boston University.

WINBURN T. THOMAS

is reconstruction secretary of the World Student Christian Federation, with headquarters at present at Bangkok, Siam.

GEORGE EARLE OWEN

is living in Miami while on furlough from the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, Buenos Aires, Argentina. He writes: "Having lived outside the country, I was surprised to come face to face in the church I have been attending with intolerance such as I witnessed in Spain last year."

Next Week

PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC RELATIONS IN FRANCE

By Jean Bosc

First article in a series that will cover new ground

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Calendar of Coming Events

March 7-14. Y.W.C.A. 18th National Convention, San Francisco.

March 13. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Howard Thurman, speaker.

March 13. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Reinhold Niebuhr, speaker.

March 15. Federal Council of Churches Executive Committee, New York.

March 15-17. Crozer Theological Seminary Annual Pastors' Conference; Ray C. Petry, speaker.

March 18. Union Theological Seminary Missionary Addresses of the Society of Missionary Inquiry, Richmond, Va.; C. Darby Fulton, speaker.

March 20. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Bishop J. W. Ernst Sommer, speaker.

March 20. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Oscar Jurek, speaker.

March 21-23. U.S.A. Conference of the World Council of Churches First Constituent Meeting, Evanston, Ill.

March 23-24. Virginia School of Alcoholic Studies, Richmond.

March 27. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Reuben G. Gustavson, speaker.

March 27. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Stephen S. Wise, speaker.

March 27-29. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., Conference on Christian Vocation; D. Maurice Allan, Donald G. Miller, John Oliver Nelson, W. A. L. Sibley, speakers.

March 28. Boston Congregational Club Meeting, Old South Church; Walter Van Kirk, speaker.

March 28-30. International Religion and Labor Conference, Cincinnati.

March 28-31. Disciples Third Washington Workshop on World Order, Washington, D. C.

March 28-April 1. National Lutheran Council Semi-annual Staff Meetings, Chicago.

April 1-3. Peacemakers' Conference on Non-Violent Action Against Conscription, War and Dictatorship, Chicago.

April 17. Easter Sunday.

April 17, 27th annual Sunrise Easter Service on Mount Davidson, San Francisco.

April 18-21. 19th Annual Post-Easter Convocation, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.; Ayer Lectures, Frederick W. Norwood; Rauschenbusch Lectures, Ralph H. Gabriel.

April 19-20. United Stewardship Council Committee Meetings, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.

April 19-21. National Temperance Movement Council on the New Approach to the Alcohol Problem, University of Chicago.

April 20. Federal Council of Churches Department of Evangelism, New York.

April 20-22. Associated Church Press, Washington, D. C.

April 21. General Commission on Chaplains Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C.

April 24-30. National Y.W.C.A. Week.

April 25. Boston Congregational Club Meeting, Old South Church; Joseph R. Sizoo, speaker.

April 25-27. Third Wisconsin Pastors' Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

April 26-27. Easter Lectures, Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio; Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., speaker.

April 26-28. Yale Divinity School Annual Convocation; Lyman Beecher Lectures, Leslie Weatherhead; Taylor Lectures, James Muilenburg.

May 1-8. National Family Week.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXVI CHICAGO, MARCH 9, 1949 NUMBER 10

EDITORIAL

Second Week In Lent

"GOD WILLS the unity of his church and we must be obedient to him." These words from Amsterdam's report on "The Universal Church in God's Design" deserve to be underscored during Lent. They represent a consensus reached by delegates from 135 non-Roman denominations in 44 countries. The unity of the churches, Amsterdam agreed, is found in Jesus Christ. It is his creation, not ours. "Notwithstanding our divisions, we are one in Jesus Christ," says the World Assembly of Churches, which "gratefully acknowledges its agreements and seeks the solution of [its] disagreements." "We continually learn from our fellow Christians. . . . Although we cannot fully meet, our Lord will not allow us to turn away from one another. . . . The body of Christ is a unity. . . . There is but one Lord and one body. Therefore we cannot rest content with our present divisions. Before God, we are responsible for one another." *O God, our Father, we pray for thy church, which is set today amid the perplexities of a changing order, and face to face with new tasks. Baptize her afresh in the life-giving spirit of Jesus Christ. Bestow upon her a greater responsiveness to duty, a swifter compassion for suffering and utter loyalty to the will of God. Put upon her lips the gospel of her Lord. Help her to proclaim boldly the coming of the Kingdom of God. Fill her with the prophet's scorn of tyranny and with a Christlike tenderness for the downtrodden. Bid her cease from seeking her own life, lest she lose it. Make her valiant to give up her life to humanity, that, like her crucified Master, she may mount the path of the cross to a higher glory, through Jesus Christ her Lord. Amen.*

Peace Comes to The Holy Land

AFTER 42 days of negotiating on the island of Rhodes, Israel and Egypt signed an armistice on February 24. Now negotiations are under way for an armistice between Israel and Transjordan; Lebanon and Syria are reported ready to make peace with their southern neighbor, and Irak and Saudi Arabia have sent word to the U.N. conciliator that whatever deal the other Arab states make with Israel will be satisfactory to them. Of course, an armistice is not peace, and there are certain important issues which remain to be settled in the peace treaties. What, for instance, is to happen to the U.N. decision that the Jerusalem-Bethlehem region should be internationalized? Are the Arabs who fled during the fighting to be allowed to return to their homes? If not, where are they to be resettled and who is to pay the cost of resettling them? Some of these issues may be worked out in the separate armistice agreements, just as the armistice with Egypt answered the question of Israel's southern boundaries. The important fact is that both the Arabs and the Israelis want peace; this general popular desire can be counted on to overcome any difficulties which may arise when the final treaties are negotiated. So the new state of Israel takes its place on the world map! It has been established in the face of enormous barriers by the dauntless courage and the driving sense of desperation of the young Zionists. It owes its victory also to the inner divisions and malignant weaknesses of the Arab states. The Zionists will now turn to the tasks of construction, for which they have such large plans and such boundless confidence. If they carry these through to success—that is to say, if the water power of the Jordan is harnessed to turn the larger towns into thriving industrial centers and to turn the wastes of the Negeb into a vast oasis of flourishing farm colonies—the effect on the primitive peasant life in the neighboring Arab states may be revolutionary. What effect this triumph of Zionist nationalism will have on Judaism, only time can disclose.

Nobel Prize Should Go To Ralph Bunche

CREDIT for the successful conclusion of the armistice negotiations between Israel and Egypt is unanimously given to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, acting United Nations mediator for Palestine. After the assassination of Count Bernadotte—a crime for which no one has as yet been punished or seems likely to be punished—the task of trying to halt the fighting and work out a permanent division of the Holy Land fell on the murdered conciliator's deputy. The rest of the world, including his own nation, knew little about Dr. Bunche at that time. Hasty biographical paragraphs in the press identified him as a Harvard Ph.D., a professor at Howard University, an anthropologist who knew so much about Africa that he was taken over by the OWI and then by the state department during the war, and after the war became the director of the division of trusteeship of the United Nations. It was said he did not want the job bequeathed him by Count Bernadotte's death; he took it only on a temporary basis. But now the whole world knows Dr. Bunche as the man who has

brought off one of the few successful feats of peacemaking statesmanship since the U.N. was formed. Almost alone he persuaded the Egyptians to enter the negotiations on Rhodes, and almost alone his patience and persistence kept them there when the conference seemed headed for the rocks. When Gunnar Myrdal wrote his monumental study of America's race problem, the Swedish sociologist pointed out that the achievements of Negroes in this country, however striking, had been confined almost entirely to matters which concerned their own race. Dr. Bunche is the first to transcend that limitation. He has proved himself a world statesman of the first rank. We are in some doubt as to how much distinction is conferred by the Nobel peace prize awards of recent years, but if there is to be such an award this year we hope that it will go to Ralph J. Bunche.

Of Course the Bulgarian Pastors Are Guilty!

THE GOVERNMENT of Bulgaria is a totalitarian regime. Through the trials of Protestant pastors it is trying to destroy the only churches which it cannot be sure it can control. It is not an accident that the trials are being held at the moment when the government is pressing for the passage of a bill which recognizes the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as the "only people's church" and places all other religious bodies under strict state supervision. The trials of these Protestant pastors are a device for breaking up the last little island of possible dissent from a completely servile ecclesiastical apparatus. The Protestant churches have only 14,400 communicants and 138 ministers. About one-third of the ministers are in prison. The effusive "confessions" which some of the pastors are reported to be making in court mean nothing except that Communist "justice" is taking its accustomed course. Such confessions have been characteristic of Communist court procedure since the Russian purge trials of the middle thirties. Only those who are ready to "confess" and grovel before the state are brought to court. In this case more than half of the ministers arrested are suffering martyrdom in silence. The pathetic untruths extorted from the minority would have no standing in a democratic court, because of the secrecy under which they were secured. They have no standing in world public opinion. But to this the hardened agents of dictatorship are oblivious. All they can see is that here is a minority whose loyalty to God and whose connections with the worldwide Christian community are a threat to their absolute command. They are right. By their membership in a Christian fellowship the Protestant pastors are guilty of treason to totalitarianism. Let us admit it and glory in the fact! When this can happen, the church is alive and a menace to principalities and powers and to all evil in high places.

Finland Feels The Strain

AN ILLUSTRATION of the swift effect which American actions can have on events in Europe is provided by the narrow escape of the Finnish cabinet from being thrown out of office on February 23. On another page of this issue, Prof. John I. Kolehmainen tells how, during the last year and a half, Finland's democrats withstood the infiltration tactics of the Communists, rooted them out of the government and set up a liberal and democratic regime. But between the time when Dr. Kolehmainen completed his article and the time when we could put it into type and start it on its way to the press, the Finnish outlook was completely reversed. After a debate in parliament which lasted more than 26 hours, the Labor and Social Democrat cabinet of Prime Minister Fagerholm survived by a margin of only two votes. Now it is reported from Finland that unless Fagerholm will agree to remake his cabinet, taking the Communists back into the government and giving them the key posts of defense and interior, they will soon bring about its downfall. Then they expect to fashion a cabinet with the Agrarians as allies. This will tie Finnish policy tight to that of Russia. What has brought about this sudden dashing of the hopes of as courageous a group of liberals as can be found in Europe? The American campaign to force Scandinavians to choose between an American and a Russian orientation is responsible. Faced by this choice, with America far distant and Russia very near and very suspicious—as well as holding treaty rights to occupy Finland if its security is threatened—enough Finns have concluded this is not the time to slap down their Communists. The first casualty of the drive for a North Atlantic Defense Alliance therefore seems likely to be loss of one of the few surviving democracies on Russia's borders. Dr. Kolehmainen's article, we fear, may shortly have only a grim historical interest.

Pastors' Pay Under Street Sweepers'

TORONTO PAYS street sweepers over $2,000 a year, and that is not enough. But the United Church of Canada has been trying to support a ministry whose minimum salary, which is not always paid, is around $1,800. The rise in the cost of living makes this an impossibly low figure, so the church seeks to do something to raise it. A laymen's committee has been formed to lift the minimum to $2,400, "immediately if possible, but by 1951 at latest." A Canada-wide laymen's organization has been set up, which has issued a pamphlet on *The Position of Our Ministers* directed to church members. Attractively printed by the United Church Publishing House of Toronto, this pamphlet should stir the people who are in position to remedy a shameful injustice. It points out that "of the 2,016 active ministers of the United Church, only 373 at the present time receive more than $2,400." A chart shows that if 100 is taken as the base figure for 1939, ministers' salaries have risen to only 130 by 1948, while the cost of commodities has risen to 180 and the cost of food has passed 200. Labor income has climbed from 100 to 275 and farm income from 100 to 360. With the fall in purchasing power of the dollar, the $2,400 which the committee seeks will fail by $600 of supporting a standard of living equal to that provided by $1,800 a decade ago. As a consequence, the effectiveness of pastors as well as the health and educational standards of their families is suffering, and the church is finding it increasingly difficult to interest young men in the ministry. The

new initiative of the Canadian laymen is therefore propitious. We hope it will also become contagious. The situation which prevails in Canada exists here in aggravated form, and without the democratic equalization of salaries which the United Church wisely observes. Living costs have soared higher on this side of the border and pastoral salaries have usually followed the same deliberate pace as in Canada. But where is our laymen's committee? Who is ready to give our church members the truth concerning this matter, which concerns every church, in a similarly succinct but accurate form? Isn't this a job that the commission on the ministry of the Federal Council of Churches could help the laymen do?

Doctors Propose New Medical Plans

PHYSICIANS who have been against state medicine but anxious to see adequate medical care provided for those now without it, have reacted to the "12-point plan" of the American Medical Association much as this paper did. (See the editorial, "The A.M.A. Feels the Pressure," in last week's Century.) In another open letter to the board of trustees of the A.M.A., 167 leaders in the medical profession call the association's plan "vague" and "inadequate," and propose that the A.M.A. use part of its $3,500,000 propaganda fund to call a conference with representatives of labor, industry, agriculture and other interested lay and medical groups to work out a "truly comprehensive plan of preventive and curative medicine for the nation." Among the signers are three Nobel prize winners, the top professors of clinical medicine at Columbia, Harvard, Vanderbilt and Washington, and the chief of pediatrics at the Mayo clinic. At the same time Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, medical director of the Veterans Administration, has proposed a plan for a combination of publicly provided diagnostic clinics with follow-up treatment by private physicians or specialists, local, state and federal funds being available to make deficit payments considered necessary by local boards. We do not have space here to go into the details of the Magnuson plan, but it merits careful consideration. All these doctors who make these alternative proposals are as fearful of socialized medicine as Dr. Fishbein and the A.M.A. board. But they see that if socialized medicine is to be headed off, the millions of Americans who are not now getting adequate medical care must be offered a substitute for the present laissez faire which is more than glittering (or not so glittering) generalities.

Not for Investment, For Speculation

WE DO NOT know what misleading clue led the operator of what is regarded as a highly reputable stock market information service to send one of the members of this editorial staff a prospectus of his service. Perhaps he entertained the fallacious idea that newspaper offices are among the places where wealth accumulates and that editors must be looking for profitable investments for their surplus funds. The advertised service would, we imagine, be attractive to those who actually are in this fortunate position. But one paragraph in the prospectus caught the eye: "Stocks are made to buy and sell. They should never be bought and held for permanent investment. There is a time to buy stocks and there is a time to sell them, as every experienced investor will agree." So *that* is what stocks are made for! And we, in our simplicity, had always supposed that they were made so that people who had some money but not enough to start a business of their own, and not enough skill to do it either, could pool their resources to finance enterprises that would be productive and also profitable for all concerned; or, looking at the same process from the other end, so that enterprises in need of capital could get it by attracting the investment of relatively small sums which together would be more productive than they could be separately. We still stick to it that this is the core of the theory upon which stock companies came into being. But now an "investment" expert tells us that investment has nothing to do with it; that the *raison d'être* of stocks is speculation. You buy them when they are low, ride up, and sell when they are high. The clever buyer and seller—one can't call him an investor—knows when to buy and when to sell. (Subscribe to our service and be one of the clever!) Of course for every clever one who sells when it is "time to sell," there must be some dumb cluck who thinks it is time to buy; and vice versa. No matter. The clever subscriber to "our service" is not interested in them. Neither is he interested in the productive use of capital. All he is interested in is skimming a little cream every time the market fluctuates. This is one reason why some people think the stock market is an immoral institution (which it need not be), and some go to the extreme of thinking that the "capitalistic system" is fundamentally wrong.

Capsule Comment on Recent Events

HOW MUCH the convivial atmosphere had to do with Mr. Truman's vulgarity in his speech to the Reserve Officers Association, we do not know. But we do know that the barroom epithet revealed a conception of the office of President of the United States which can add nothing to Americans' pride in their country. . . . The *Churchman's* annual award dinners, which started as a pleasantly innocuous means of gaining some publicity for that vigorous Episcopal semi-monthly, have become a public method of identifying the bigwigs who scurry for cover at the first whisper of "Red" or "anti-Catholic." Bishop Oxnam received the award this year, and there was the same flurry of withdrawals that accompanied General Marshall's eleventh-hour rejection of the citation a year ago. . . . South Africa has taken another step toward outright annexation of the old German colony of Southwest Africa. Premier Malan declares that it will no longer even submit trusteeship reports to the U.N., let alone obey the U.N. resolutions regarding the way in which that territory should be administered. This is the most flagrant defiance of the U.N. to date, and it will be enlightening to see what the U.N. does about it. . . . The International Refugee Organization reports that there are now more refugees than at the end of the war. There are from 50 to 55 million in China; 5 to 6 million in India; 4 to 5

million in Pakistan; 500,000 in Greece; 644,000 Arab refugees in Palestine and surrounding countries; 2 million "escapees" from the Russian zone in western Germany. This is to name only the largest groups. . . . Some European papers are comparing the case of Cardinal Mindszenty with Bismarck's treatment of Archbishop Ledochowski of Poland in 1874. The pope made Ledochowski a cardinal on his sentence to imprisonment in the dungeon of Ostrowo, but he was exiled to Rome on his release in 1876, and never got back to Poland. In many ways, a more striking parallel to what is now happening in Hungary may be found in English history in the ecclesiastical policy of Henry VIII. Henry, however, lopped off more heads, including that of one cardinal. . . . Signs multiply that Spain is to be restored to good standing among the nations. Chase National Bank of New York (the Rockefeller bank) has loaned Franco $25 million. This isn't much of a loan, from the viewpoint either of the bank or of the Spanish dictator. But such a loan would never have been made without a green light from the U.S. state department. That gives it meaning. . . . The Labor party's victory in the recent South Hammersmith by-election maintains intact the unbroken string of electoral successes which that party has piled up since it came to power. This achievement is without parallel in British politics. The most recent contest was used by both parties as a testing ground for the coming general election. But Labor should be warned that even this victory offers no proof that it will win in a general contest. Remember November! Overconfidence has lost more elections than anything else.

Why Congress Bows to Blocs

THE INEFFABLE John E. Rankin, using to the limit his powers as chairman of the veterans' committee of the lower house of Congress, is pushing to a vote a bill that will give a pension ($90 a month at age 65) to all veterans of World Wars I and II who served 90 days or longer. This would be in addition to all past bonuses, present benefits and other prospective "adjusted compensations." The cost will be incalculable billions. The administration is discreetly fighting the bill, but Congressman Joseph W. Martin, Jr., former speaker and present Republican leader of the House, predicts that it will pass. One of the more responsible radio commentators says that most congressmen are opposed to it, but that few of them will dare to vote against it on a roll call. He is probably right. Why?

About 12 million veterans will be beneficiaries—say 20 per cent of all voters. But the issue the bill presents will be the dominant issue with a large proportion of them when it comes to voting for or against the re-election of a congressman on his record. It will not be the dominant issue for the other 80 per cent of the voters. Therefore the 20 per cent will get what they want. The congressman thinks: "By voting against this grab, in every five constituents I will make one bitter enemy who will remember, and win mild approval from four voters who will forget. By voting for it I will make four critics who will forget in the pressure of other interests and one grateful friend who will remember and work for me regardless of other interests." So he votes for it.

That is the way blocs work.

There are other blocs. Conspicuously, organized labor, which also represents about 12 million voters—20 per cent of the total.

Farmers have some of the characteristics of a bloc, though they are not so solidly organized and are not "swung" by leaders. They have a specialized group interest which transcends all other interests and issues. Mr. Truman recognized this when he said, in his campaign, that the farmers would be showing base ingratitude if they did not vote for him after all he and his party had done for them in getting them high prices for their product. The outcome showed that Mr. Truman, a graduate of the very practical school of Missouri politics, knew how to talk to farmers.

To a smaller degree, but in a very real sense, the Roman Catholic Church is a bloc. To a smaller degree, because its whole vote is not deliverable. A great many Catholics put other issues before the special advantages of their church in an election. The hierarchy cannot proceed as openly as the C.I.O., nor are its more subtle leadings as generally followed by its constituency. There is a difference, also, in that the motive which holds this bloc together (insofar as it is one) is not the cohesive power of a common selfish individual interest, but common devotion to an institution for which government support is desired.

So, as in the case of the veterans' pension bill, congressmen and senators who are confronted by the federal education bills—with their various provisions for either permitting or guaranteeing the subsidy of Roman Catholic schools with public funds—will vote with one eye on the merits of the measures and the other on the resentment of Catholics if they do not now get for their schools the money that the church's fingers have been itching for and stretching out toward for a hundred years but never before had so nearly within their clutch.

Roman Catholics are about 16 per cent of the population, though much more in the larger cities where political organization is tight and effective. Accordingly, and again paralleling the veterans' pension proposition, the congressman or senator will reflect: "If I vote against giving public money to Catholic schools, all the Roman Catholics will be my enemies for life, while the non-Catholic majority will say that I only did my obvious duty under the Constitution and will not be particularly grateful. If I vote for it, the Catholics will remember at the next election that I was on their side in what was, for them, the big issue of this Congress, but the non-Catholics will only shake their heads and write a few letters and then forget about it."

That is the way the federal legislator will be tempted to reflect. But he had better not be too sure that those who oppose the state-aid-to-religion program *will* forget. As a matter of fact, we can give the members of both houses of Congress confident assurance that support of this revolutionary measure is something that will be neither forgotten nor forgiven by some millions of voters. These may not use the bloc technique; they are not or-

ganized to use it, and they do not like it. But an informed and aroused majority of the electorate can be a very potent force, especially when it is indignant at the truckling of its elected representatives to the pressure of blocs working for their selfish individual or group interests.

Instead of the Alliance

IT NOW seems possible that before this editorial can be read by our subscribers, the proposed North Atlantic Defense Alliance will have been signed, its text revealed and it may have been submitted to the Senate for ratification. As we continue to oppose that ratification, supporters of the alliance are sure to ask, What alternative have you? It is a fair question, and an inevitable one. It is also one that can be answered. For there is an alternative to this military commitment. It lies in the direction U.S. policy was groping less than two years ago.

I

Before taking up the nature of this alternative policy, let's try to get clearly in mind the problem which any American foreign policy, of whatever nature, is trying to solve. In essence, this problem is the securing of a lasting peace. It isn't a problem of getting ready to fight the next world war; it is a problem of winning the last one. How is a lasting peace to be gained, to be insured? If that is not our purpose, then we are false to all the promises made to the heroic dead, false to our nation's welfare and to our children.

The decisions made before the fighting ended—at Yalta, at Potsdam, in writing the Charter of the United Nations—were based on the assumption that Russia would prove a cooperative partner in trying to build this permanent peace. President Roosevelt on several occasions voiced his confidence in Stalin's postwar cooperation. Mr. Churchill is now writing as though he never had any such confidence, but he said nothing while head of the British government to disclose his disbelief. One continuing reflection of that wartime assumption may be seen in the principle of unanimity written into the operating rules of the United Nations.

But the assumption was unfounded. Russia, at least from our point of view, has not proved cooperative. From the start of the rebuilding period, we have found ourselves at cross-purposes with the Soviet Union. Because of that, important peace treaties could not be written, issues of reparations and colonies could not be settled, and this country is still technically at war—though with whom it would be hard to say. Finally, the government and people of the United States were forced by Russia's course to conclude that her policy is to block, thwart, delay or upset the recovery of western Europe (and to a lesser degree of the war-ravaged lands in the Orient), gain as many Communist satellites as possible while engaged in this sabotage, and await an American economic collapse which would let the Soviet system take over practically all the European continent.

This, in American eyes, would be to lose the last war and greatly to increase the likelihood of World War III. In that war the United States, despite the atomic bomb and its huge industrial potential, would be fighting at an immense disadvantage, for it would be faced with the problem of invading an entire continent—perhaps two continents—with no secure and near-by bases from which to mount an offensive of such magnitude. Accordingly, President Truman determined to take the bull of Communist expansion by the horns, and the Truman Doctrine was the result. The Truman Doctrine promised American support to any nation resisting Communist advance.

The Truman Doctrine, as implemented in the case of Greece, was reluctantly approved by Congress, but it did not win enthusiastic support from large portions of the American public. Why not? Because the American people, despite all that has been alleged about their political naiveté, recognized that the fundamental problem in Europe is economic and psychological—that is, a problem of morale—rather than military. It was economic trouble which made Great Britain suddenly throw the Greek burden on America's shoulders. It was the lack of economic recovery and promise which was cutting the nerve of morale in western Europe.

Some of the more farsighted men in the state department, in Congress and in American business began to see (1) that the Truman Doctrine, with its sweeping assurances to any state threatened by the Communists, had bitten off more than it could chew, and (2) that if the United States simply continued to pour doles into Europe—it had done so to the extent of $9 billion between V-E Day and 1947—no genuine recovery would ever be achieved. What was needed, it became more and more clear, was a restoration of inner stability in western Europe, a regaining of the self-respect and self-confidence that would constitute genuine strength.

II

It was at this point that General Marshall gave an entirely new direction to American policy by his Harvard speech. To be sure, an attempt at face-saving was made by calling this an "extension," a "development" or a "corollary" of the Truman Doctrine. It was nothing of the kind. It was an entirely new approach to the problem of gaining a lasting peace, couched entirely in economic terms and seeking by economic means to make Europe a stable, going concern.

To see exactly what the Marshall plan was when first announced, go back to General Marshall's speech:

> The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years . . . are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social and political deterioration of a very grave character.
>
> . . . It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health to the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed, not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. *Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world* so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. . . . Any assistance that this government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative.
>
> . . . Before the United States government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the

> European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this government. . . . The initiative must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one agreed to by a number, if not all, European nations. [Our italics.]

We reproduce this long quotation from the Harvard speech because so much of the discussion at Washington now apparently rests on the premise that the American people have forgotten, if they ever knew, what the Marshall plan was in its original form. The claim that the North Atlantic Defense Alliance is a "development" or a "logical extension" of the Marshall plan is as baseless as former claims that the Marshall plan was a corollary of the Truman Doctrine.

The Marshall plan, as the Harvard speech shows, had three ruling ideas. First, relief and unrelated attempts at repair in shattered Europe were getting nowhere. There must be a reconstruction of the European economy as a whole. Second, European nations must shoulder the major part of this job. Third, to do this they must get together on a joint program, a truly cooperative venture. The belief underlying all this was that the way to stop the spread of communism was to put Europe to work, to make it able to stand on its own feet, since communism battens on despair. The only real strength with which to confront communism in a threatened continent is that of free men with a personal stake in a manner of life so rewarding that they will have no reason to want to see it changed.

III

We believe that the Marshall idea was sound when enunciated and is sound today. We believe that the way to deal with the Communist menace in Europe is to stick to the original Marshall plan policy, and if necessary to enlarge the American investment in it. And that, we hold, is the proper alternative to the military alliance policy! The military alliance policy is a throwback to the ruling ideas of the Truman Doctrine and an abandonment of the Marshall plan.

Why do we call it an abandonment? Isn't the Marshall plan program going ahead? Isn't there an OEEC, an ECA, an ERP and a $5,580,000,000 appropriation for the next 15-month Marshall plan operations just coming up in Congress? Haven't the reports of increased production in most of the Marshall plan countries during the first year of the plan's operation been encouraging? Are not Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Harriman and their staffs planning to go right on functioning until 1952? Yes, to every one of these questions. But that leaves the really important question still to be answered: Is the Marshall plan achieving its original purpose?

The original purpose of the Marshall plan, as we have seen, was to unite Europe in a going economic concern. In the beginning, the plan hoped for participation by all Europe. When Russia balked, and forced her satellites to stay out, that still left 16 nations ready to go ahead. The Marshall plan envisioned an interlocking economic program for these 16, so fitted together that by 1952 their currencies would be stabilized, their budgets balanced, their unfavorable trade balances wiped out, and they would be back on their own feet with standards of living for their people at least as high as those of 1938.

But this purpose is now to be subordinated to another—the forging of an allied army that will overawe Russia. The military plan for doing this will absorb so much of western Europe's manpower and resources that the economic purposes of the original Marshall plan simply cannot be attained. Gradually but inevitably, as more and more men of fighting age are taken to fill the new divisions which are supposed to checkmate Stalin, and as production is channeled into army consumption, economic recovery and return of self-sufficiency by the nations of western Europe will be pushed into the background. Rearmament will usurp the central attention. ERP will slip back into a relief job. And the Marshall plan in fact, though probably never in form, will be abandoned.

In the best book so far written on the problem of Europe, Barbara Ward, the brilliant foreign affairs editor of the London *Economist,* shows that there can be no salvation for western Europe, and hence no lasting peace, unless that hitherto hopelessly divided region is welded together so that it can function as a single producing and distributing unit. (If you want to grasp the realities of this problem the U.S.A. is attempting to solve in Europe, by all means read Miss Ward's book, *The West at Bay,* published in this country by W. W. Norton & Co.) That welding job was what the Marshall plan set out to do. But that is what it has utterly failed to do. When it comes to unifying west Europe in an economic program, all the efforts so far haven't got to first base.

The Marshall plan reports on the first year and requests for the second, show this clearly. They show unrelated instances of growing production, in one country and another, which prove the capacity of the European workers. But they also show such an utter inability to coordinate the programs of the 16 governments that the very gains on which some of them count for future solvency are to be won at the cost of other nations which are supposed to be in equal partnership. Great Britain, for instance, is making great gains through a rigorous austerity, but France wails that Britain's solvency is being won at the expense of the French workers. Moreover, it is now universally admitted that the idea of a self-supporting economy in western Europe by 1952 is an idle dream.

IV

What seems to have happened is that the heads of government, both in Washington and in the capitals of west Europe, ran up against the tough problems involved if the original purpose of the Marshall plan was to be fulfilled, and flunked the test. All the bold words about a "Western Union" proved, when it came to action in the economic realm, to mean only pious aspirations. Everybody talked glibly, and acted hardly at all. So for economic integration there was substituted military alliance, first in the Brussels pact and now in the proposed North Atlantic pact. And the United States, which acquiesced in the retreat from economic cooperation when the difficulties became evident, now leads the way to the multiplication of armed alliances. It has a North Atlantic military pact ready for Senate

ratification, and last week London reported that exploratory conversations on a similar Mediterranean pact are starting.

In other words, the United States and the nations of western Europe are returning to the premise that the problem of lasting peace is military and that the power of the United States will solve it in military terms. The armies of western Europe are to be built back up to a point where it is hoped they can hold the 120 divisions of Russia in check until an American force large enough to invade and conquer the Soviet Union and its allies can be raised, trained, transported and based on European soil. All this the United States is to finance, and most of the arms it is to supply. What this withdrawal of a million or more men from constructive production in Europe will do to that continent's hope of permanent economic recovery, no supporter of the alliance policy is saying.

To be sure, arming and equipping great armies in Europe under a North Atlantic Defense Alliance will, for a time, start the inflationary boom spiraling upward again in this country. That prospect may look very good just now to a lot of apprehensive manufacturers. And the return to mass feeding of Europe—which is the form the wraith of the Marshall plan will assume—may look good to the farmers who see farm price levels going down. But while manpower is being diverted into conscript armies and much of the population is kept on a U.S. dole, no real strength will grow inside western Europe. Ultimately, in the absence of such genuine inner strength, the Communist tactics of infiltration, of boring from within, will win.

We have no illusions about the threat which Russian totalitarianism constitutes to human freedom. The future would look dark indeed—far darker than it does now—if the Communist dictatorship were to take over the rest of Europe. But we do not believe that the Communist threat is primarily military. The Communist threat primarily is to be found in the common man's loss of hope, his loss of self-reliance, his loss of firm faith in democracy over wide areas of western Europe. The way to stop that ebbing of faith is not to confront him with the prospect of conscript service in armies preparing for another holocaust of horror, but to give him a constructive part to play in building back up his own standard of living and in winning a future economic promise for his children. That means to return to the original purposes of the Marshall plan, to enlarge it if it needs to be enlarged, but at all costs to see that it is carried through as it was at first conceived.

'You Must Relax'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The woman who found great comfort in "that blessed word, Mesopotamia," has long since passed to her reward. The word is no longer blessed. But other words have sprung up from time to time to work their spell. As of this moment the "blessed" word to large numbers of people, both clergy and those entirely without bell, book and candle, seems to be "relax." Psychology, of the sound and charlatan varieties alike, has made a large gift to the vocabulary of religion by revealing the virtues of relaxation. One result is that the new gospel of getting relaxed threatens to run away with the whole show.

Someone once observed that "when a new idea gets into an unfurnished mind, it has the time of its life." The idea of relaxation has certainly been having itself a time in a great many unfurnished minds.

For the truth that one needs to relax to keep the mind and spirit from being snapped by taut stretching has lately been so stressed that it bids fair to blot out all other aspects of the Christian gospel. In some pulpits the New Testament seems in danger of being abbreviated to one word, that blessed word "relax."

A score of book titles proclaims the word or the idea: *You Must Relax, How Never to be Tired, The Art of Relaxation.* Sermons follow suit. A series on "Peace, Poise and Power in Perpetual Possession" is followed by another on "You, Too, Can be Serene." When this kind of thing is poured on too steadily the result is that all tension is taken out of life. And there can be no true Christianity without tension. Take the tension out of the mainspring of a watch and you have beautifully "relaxed" steel; you also have a useless piece of junk. A person can become so relaxed, so free from all disturbance about anything, that he likewise is a useless piece of junk.

We will soon have a rewritten gospel, thus: "If any man would come after me, let him keep down his blood pressure"; "Go ye into all the world and relax."

The bulletin board in front of a church recently announced the sermon topic for Sunday: "How to Live a Serene and Successful Life." Fine. So long as we do not forget that our Master lived a disturbed and unsuccessful life. He was deeply disturbed and moved with compassion at seeing the crowd harassed and bewildered, like sheep without a shepherd. He seems never to have mastered the art of relaxation as so soothingly proclaimed in six easy sermons. He carried tension to the end. And he died on a cross.

Yours intensely,
SIMEON STYLITES.

Earth Bears His Mark

EARTH bears old signatures of man;
A pyramid, a wall
Where Saxons, conquered, wore the yoke
Imposed by alien Gaul;
The hands of Phidias are dust,
Yet still, above the town,
Timeless, proud and beautiful
The Parthenon looks down.

Earth bears his mark—not so the sea!
Not even prows that roam
As once Ulysses, Jason, Leif,
Can trace upon the foam
Their brave adventurings. Untamed,
The seven seas endure,
Scorning to hold on their vast tides
Man's signature.

LESLIE SAVAGE CLARK.

How My Mind Changed, 1938-1948

By Karl Barth

WHEN a man is on the way from his fifty-second to his sixty-second year, as I have been in this decade 1938-48, he has every reason to open his eyes and ears wide once more, to use his time and powers especially well, to bring his goals once more under searching scrutiny. In these years one certainly is no longer young. But the demands of life and vocation are still about the same as those that are placed on younger people, and strong enough to close the door—at least partly—to backward-looking self-contemplation, that weakness of age.

It is just when one ceases to be young that one feels a more urgent need to arrive at certain settlements—with oneself, with one's fellow men, with one's work—and therefore to become newly receptive. Some avoidable follies ought now to be laid aside, some unnecessary discords ought now to be liquidated, some tensions in which one has perhaps lived ought now to be resolved, while there is yet time. And it ought still to be possible to bring some modest harvests into the granary. For the sun has passed its zenith, evening approaches, and there is need to "work while it is day."

I

That commandment had special relevance to these years of my life. God knows how well I have obeyed it. I did my best, and so this decade was marked by an inner activity richer even than that of the preceding decade. Of course at this time of life one can no longer do as much as formerly; one tires more easily and indeed is more aware of one's limitations. But the great demands from outside that these years imposed on me did not leave me much time to mourn over all that. And the clearer consciousness of my own limitations was surely a change for the better.

For example, to my own astonishment and that of those who knew me, this consciousness made me definitely milder—in fact, more peaceable and readier to see that, after all, one is in the same boat with one's opponents; readier also now and then to suffer unjustified attacks without stepping forward to defend myself, and so less zealous to attack others. To say "yes" came to seem more important than to say "no" (though that is important too). Theologically, the message of God's grace came to seem more urgent than the message of God's law, wrath, accusation and judgment (though that is certainly not to be suppressed either). Signs of weakness? Perhaps. But on the one hand I am still able to put up a good fight when that is absolutely called for; and on the other hand it seems to me that in this new character, which possibly is a concomitant of age, I have accomplished more than in the belligerency of my earlier years.

I have several special reasons for thanking God. First of all, that on the whole I am still a healthy man. A passing illness (for the benefit of medical readers: hernia Spigelli) which necessitated an operation I remember only as an interesting experience and a much appreciated time of rest. Not everyone has it as easy as that. I shall never be justified in complaining that adequate strength was not granted me long enough. Then, too, I find myself surrounded by a growing rather than diminishing group of faithful, sympathetic and stimulating friends, old and young. Again, my grown-up sons are my best companions—a boon not granted to every father. It was good too that in these years the number of my grandchildren increased from two to eight.

Add to this—what surely is not a virtue on my part but a pure gift of nature—that something within me remained restless, driving me ever and again to seek new knowledge, to press forward on certain lines, to take my stand resolutely and see it through, but at the same time bidding me to view all these activities as parts of a process, and so not to forfeit my freedom. I have let myself be led and now and then be taken by surprise—not deterred by the thought that I might possibly surprise others by my course. I cannot deny that this restlessness has caused me much effort. At times I have honestly envied others who have long since arrived in some safe harbor. Yet it seems to me that this restlessness has been of the greatest benefit for me and for my work, especially in this decade.

And then in these ten years I have come to realize as never before how much praise man is just simply bound to give to God his Maker. This I hold a gain for the sake of which I willingly put in second place the wistful desire to be younger, though I cannot suppress that desire.

II

I come now to the outer aspects of my life in 1938-48. The preceding decade had led me through many lands. But now for the first seven years of this new decade—save for a few last trips to France, Holland and Denmark in 1939—I remained altogether at home. I traveled diligently up and down my Swiss fatherland, giving lectures and attending conferences of all kinds, and learned to know it better than ever before. But Switzerland's limits were mine too. For at that time, when Hitler and Mussolini hemmed us in on all sides, I would surely have fared badly beyond its borders. By 1940, the great evil whose approach we first discerned in 1938 had broken out over Europe and the world. The accumulated account had to be paid. The war long since lies behind us, but we are still dealing with that account, though in different fashion.

I considered it my most immediate and important duty to do my share toward seeing that, in at least one spot within a Europe that had gone mad—namely in our Swiss island, and especially in this our border city of Basle, from which one could simultaneously look over into triumphant and later bitterly suffering Germany and suppressed and later rising France—theology should be carried on, thoroughly and "as if nothing had happened."

And as never before I was glad to be in a position to serve this cause, which under all circumstances would be dependable, enduring and full of promise. But obviously this did not mean that I could remain aloof from all the pressing events of the time. With what interest we Swiss watched the movements on the battlefields and, as far as possible, also within other countries! How we feared and hoped and waited! And in Switzerland itself we had our hands full.

In these years I have become more of a Swiss than I had ever been or expected to be. It was no small threat that hovered over us from the surrounding world of dictators, and no small temptation either. And among us too not everyone and all things were prepared to resist. For we had too much of our own to lose, and too much to guard and preserve for a future Europe, to allow even a moment's doubt that resistance had to be offered. It was a simple but also difficult situation—difficult but also simple and clear (today one often thinks of it with a certain nostalgia). Rolled up in ourselves like a porcupine, we had to assert ourselves in every way, under all circumstances and by all means. Day after day we had to exercise fresh patience and courage.

So in these years I joined a kind of secret organization for defense in case of an invasion. As a member of the Society for Aid to the Confessional Church in Germany I was among those who cooperated with Paul Vogt, that tireless pastor who with endless patience, and in many cases successfully, cared for foreign refugees, especially Jewish refugees. On my own responsibility I spoke and wrote against Hitler and for Swiss freedom, as well as I could and as far as the police and our careful government's censorship allowed me breath. And finally at 54 I became a more or less regular soldier—probably not too good or dangerous a fighter, but still a soldier, armed and drilled—and as such I did sentry duty and kept a lookout for Hitler's hellish hosts along the Rhine, on the Jura and elsewhere.

This business had one fine incidental result. As never before it brought me intimately face to face with the common men of my country, with whom I lived day and night. And gladly, most gladly, I preached on occasion to these comrades of mine, 95 per cent of whom were nonchurchgoers. And so I learned anew how a sermon really aimed at a man must be constructed. "Sentry Company V"—there are few memories that I would be so loath to part with. So much for the years of isolation and defense.

III

The war came to an end and the door to the rest of the world opened again. For me this meant especially the door to Germany, where in the past I had lived so long, so gladly and so much as a part of things, where I had left behind me so many dear friends and also so many tough opponents—Germany, which had occupied my thoughts the more intimately during the years when everything that came from there had to be repudiated.

Already during the last year of the war I had entered on a new course. In the first months of 1945 I traveled through all Switzerland delivering a speech in which I attempted to make clear to my countrymen that Germany's inevitably approaching defeat brought one burning question to the fore: how now perhaps we could be especially good and helpful friends to our unhappy neighbors. I took it for granted that the victorious peoples and powers, after giving so many assurances of their higher justice, would choose to follow a reasonable policy toward Germany.

In this assumption, to be sure, I was thoroughly mistaken. But, equally unexpectedly, I came up against the fact that most Germans—even the German refugees here in Switzerland—refused to take this speech, and everything else of the same tenor that I wrote or said thereafter, as the word of a friend, but more or less vehemently rejected it. The reason was that I incidentally expressed the view, which I still hold, that the cure of the German character could not take account only of the crass corruption of the Hitler period, but had to go back to the roots of the disease in the time of Bismarck and indeed of Frederick the Great. Even in all the misery of postwar Germany, only a very few Germans will give ear to this advice. Nevertheless that change on Switzerland's part in sentiment toward the defeated Germans which I then wished to advocate has as a matter of fact widely taken place.

But I had to admit that after all it is not so easy actually to help the Germans—or indeed humanity in general. This realization was borne in on me when for example in the spring and summer of 1945 I came into close relations with the Movement for a Free Germany, in which, by the way, I became acquainted for the first time with notable Communist persons and—what was less pleasing—with Communist methods. In the fall of the same year I was able, under American auspices, to make a first and highly informative trip through Germany. I participated at Frankfurt in the reconstitution of the Council of Brethren of the Confessional Church, and later at Treysa in the organization of the official Evangelical Church in Germany.

The "German Christians" of 1933 had naturally disappeared or dived under or, in a few cases, been honestly converted. Nevertheless to my astonishment I found in the official church the same structure, grouping and dominant tendencies in which I had seen it hastening to ruin in 1933. The progressive elements—those who had truly resisted between 1933 and 1945 and now wanted to translate into actuality the teachings of those years (and Niemöller was one of the best among them)—were still on the scene and at work, but they were also still a minority compared with the really dominant and determinative circles and elements. I found the same old concern for preserving the formal, regulated character of the provincial churches—a concern not affected for the better by the interest in all kinds of new and wonderful things, above all in a more pronounced confessionalism and clericalism and alongside this a liturgism which expressed itself in a great many fanciful ways.

All this was still in evidence, and much more strongly in evidence than a concern for the question of renewing the Christian message from its sources and applying it to the new situation which had now emerged. As in the past, the problem of the church seemed ever and again to be the problem of some prominent person or circle, and not at all the problem of the parishes. At a time when

the impression of what had happened was still fresh, and much was out in the open that today is hidden again, I could discover but little solicitude for seeking after the best way of simply proclaiming the gospel to the severely tried German people.

A new word and a new faith had indeed been given to many a loyal and resolute individual here and there, but not to the church as a whole—not through the oppression of the Hitler regime, nor through the terror of the night bombings, nor through the humiliation of German defeat. The same thing probably was and is true of the churches in most other lands. I realized more clearly than before that men—Christian men also, and especially Christian men!—are by nature tough and cannot easily be brought to repentance.

Well—as was right and proper—I did not allow myself to be dismayed. After that I made several other thorough visits to Germany. Accompanied by my faithful assistant Charlotte von Kirschbaum, I was guest professor at my old university, Bonn, in the summer semesters of 1946 and 1947. There I was able to make live and promising contacts with Germany's new theological youth, who had just returned from military service or captivity. With Bonn as my headquarters, I went to a great many German cities (as far as Berlin and Dresden) to speak, resume old contacts and make new ones.

It is impossible for me to doubt that the German people and the church in Germany still have a future, and perhaps some day a very special future. But I ask myself whether help from outside will not necessarily come up against very definite limitations there. The problem of German reconstruction struck me personally as so vast, and as rendered so complicated both by the world around and by the Germans themselves, that I saw myself confronted by an alternative: either to return to Germany for good and devote what time and strength remain to me completely and exclusively to the German problem and the German task; or after all to go at my real work again—namely, the continuation and possibly the completion of my *Church Dogmatics*—and to confine my direct participation in German affairs, as well as in other foreign affairs that would inevitably arise, to specific occasions. I felt that I ought to decide for the second.

Dr. Barth's article is being presented in two parts. The second part will appear next week.

Finland Is Not Afraid

By John I. Kolehmainen

IT'S a melancholy time of year in Finland. Winter's heavy hand still rules the land, while infant spring cries but faintly in its birth pangs. "The ground is drab and tired," writes a poet in sadness, "and the wet snow falls. From across the sweep of the sea comes the mournful wailing of the wind."

Yet nature-children though they be, not all Finns are depressed. The stirring events of the past year, which saw the Finnish Communists suffer significant setbacks, have brought cheer and hope to the vast majority of the republic's citizens, who traditionally have been attached to a democratic way of life.

I

The situation during 1945-47 looked bleak enough. Recall, if you will, the postwar achievements of Finland's "left-handed brethren":

1. In the elections of March 1945, when military defeat and an uneasy national conscience muddled many minds, the Communist-organized and dominated S.K.D.L. (*Suomen kansan demokraattinen liitto*—the Finnish Popular Democratic League, an electioneering combine of Communists and left-wing Socialists) garnered nearly 400,000 votes, a 300 per cent increase over the best previous Communist showing! The S.K.D.L. appropriated 49 seats (and later led the Diet with 51) of parliament's 200, and was elevated to the respectable company of the Social Democrats (50 seats) and the Agrarians (49 seats).

2. The S.K.D.L. locked its tentacles around the key posts of prime minister and ministers of interior and of justice, as well as three other positions of ministerial rank in the coalition government formed in March 1946, after J. K. Paasikivi moved up to the presidency.

3. VALPO, the state political police, placed under the watchful eye of Yrjö Leino, the Communist minister of interior, was purged of its old personnel (only 6.8 per cent of the pre-1945 staff was on the payroll two years later), and the new appointees, exhibiting a characteristic impatience with legal niceties, hastily prepared an up-to-the-minute file of 80,000 "fascists," which judiciously included the names of several S.K.L.D. members of parliament, and began to arrest these "enemies of the people."

4. The state radio, likewise guided by a duo of Communists—the minister of communications and the director of radio, Estonian-born playwright Hella Wuolijoki—joined in the conspiracy, sending slanted broadcasts into the homes of 600,000 radio set owners.

5. The "war criminals"—former President Risto Ryti, ex-Premier Edwin Linkomies, one-time Finance Minister Väinö Tanner, and the rest—languished in prison.

All in all, the Communist drive to take over the country was coming along nicely!

The present anguish of the Communists, 53,000 in number, and their followers confirms the poignant truth of Robert Burns' classic lines:

> The best laid schemes o' mice and men
> Gang aft a-gley;
> And leave us naught but grief and pain
> For promised joy.

The high places the Communists planned to use in leading Finland down the Czechoslovak road have fallen into unfriendly hands. The jibes of their opponents, raining down upon them in their vale of sorrow, are like salt in fresh wounds: "The belief that the Communists are skillful tacticians has in many quarters grown into a sancrosanct dogma. In no other party is there such study of strategy and tactics. But our Finnish Communists must be men of limited intelligence, or else their tactical guidebooks swarm with errors. Everyone knows that no party in our country can display so brilliant a list of blunders as the Communist."

II

The Communists' three-year run of good luck broke on May 19, 1948. Parliament, unshackled by the collapse of the Big Three "work together like good friends" agreement of April 1945, and shamed by a committee report unveiling a few of the monstrous deeds of VALPO (more were to come later), asked the chief executive in a formal vote of lack of confidence to dismiss the Communist minister of interior. President Paasikivi, after reading the pertinent constitutional chapter and verse to a sullen and stubborn Leino, curtly commanded the "iron man" to leave. Titanic, indeed, was the anger of the comrades. Their noise-making machinery went into instant action: street demonstrations, factory meetings, "Leino strikes," vitriolic headlines in the *Vapaa Sana* and the *Työkansan Sanomat* screaming, "The Interior Post to Leino or to Another Communist."

When the crisis was patched up with a stop-gap compromise, new elections having been scheduled for July 1-2, the Communists apparently had saved some face. Spouse Hertta Kuusinen-Leino, daughter of distinguished revolutionaries and real master of the Leino household, came into the cabinet as minister without portfolio. Eino Kilpi, an ex-Socialist who had recently drifted into the S.K.D.L. fold, was shifted from the education to the interior post. Yet the Communists suffered irreparable damage. The strong-arm methods and the thinly veiled threats revealed to doubting Thomases that "the Communists were ready to throw their democratic professions overboard as soon as these stood in the way of their party interests." The lukewarm response to the Leino strikes—only 7,000 of Helsinki's 70,000 workers and 4,500 of Turku's 50,000 took part—exposed Communist weakness and fortified the democratic forces. Above all, the violent outburst of Communist passion for a particular cabinet post served only to swell the conviction that "in a democracy it is dangerous to give the interior position to a Communist."

III

Adversity struck again with the elections. Just before the polls were opened the *Työkansan Sanomat*, which its many critics call the *Yökansan Sanomat* ("Tidings of the People of Darkness") predicted that "the Communists and the S.K.D.L. will not only hold their votes, but will increase them." The S.K.D.L. lost 7 per cent of its popular following; more significantly, its representation in the Diet tumbled to 38 seats, while the Social Democrats and the Agrarians enlarged their delegations to 54 and 56 respectively. The outcome was explained by the Communists according to the customary formula of "threats, pressures, and police provocations of the reactionary, anti-Soviet elements." Dispassionate observers, however, saw a free election in which more than 80 per cent of the voters cast anti-Communist ballots.

The next developments were even more bewildering to the Communists. On July 24 President Paasikivi instructed the Social Democratic leader, K. A. Fagerholm, to form a new government, "preferably along the lines of the previous coalition." Discussions started. The Social Democrats and the Agrarians agreed that the election reverses of the S.K.D.L. decreed two major changes in the composition of the government: the number of S.K.D.L. ministers should be reduced, and the S.K.D.L. should not get the interior post. "Otherwise," they asserted, "it would be a defiance of the expressed wishes of the people."

The S.K.D.L. therefore was proffered four places in a 6-6-4 coalition—two first-rank ministers (education, justice or social affairs) and two second-level posts in ministries headed by non-Communists (public welfare, interior or foreign affairs). The Communists, resorting to language which, as Fagerholm later told the Finnish people, "was so contemptuous of parliamentary principles and the Diet that it frightened a democrat," insisted upon retaining the old 6-6-6 arrangement. They refused to relinquish their claims to head the ministry of interior; they wanted assurances that VALPO and the state radio would not be touched; they even proposed that S.K.D.L.'s discredited Mauno Pekkala be returned to the highest cabinet post. The Socialist and Agrarian spokesmen turned a deaf ear. Then as negotiations stalled, the Social Democrats, with a membership of 90,000 back of them, executed a neat *coup d'état*. They produced a Socialist government which parliament, though controlled by the rightist parties with a narrow majority of seven seats, accepted. Thus the Communists and their allies were maneuvered out of the governing circles of Finland.

IV

That was not all. The Fagerholm regime went ahead speedily and fearlessly to deal with VALPO and the state radio. The urgency of such action was made clear by a prominent Socialist: "We know full well that in every country where the Communists have seized power after the last war, they have had control of two important instrumentalities for that purpose, namely, the state police and the radio."

Supervision of Radio Finland passed from the minister of communications to a commission chosen by, and responsible to, the parliament, according to a law passed in October over the furious objections of the Communists. A strong and vigilant League of Radio Listeners, which had risen almost spontaneously to fight for reform, stands guard to make assurance doubly sure that the Finnish radio remains neutral. Although Madame Wuolijoki stays on as director for the time being, her inglorious mot, "I and the state radio," has now only whimsical value.

The job on VALPO was more thorough. The Social Democratic government began courageously by making public the Ahlbäck committee report on August 17, which threw back the curtains from "the dark, foul institution

that has been a shame to our democracy." It was an incredible chronicle of a police state in the making, of Communist infiltration, wire-tapping, illegal searches and seizures. There were only 33 mourners in parliament on December 7 when a majority of 134, in a festive mood, consigned VALPO to the charnel house and set up SUOPO, a state security police system with drastically reduced powers and functions. Special safeguards against arbitrary arrests and detentions are a feature of the new statute. The police staff is slated to be slashed from 157 to 75, and annual appropriations cut from 39 to 20 million marks. And the leading Socialist daily promised that SUOPO is "merely the first step in the complete removal of this ugly mark from our democracy's face."

V

It would have been too much to expect the Communists to take their losses gracefully. Tantrums, rather than acceptance of the constructive role of an opposition party, were their characteristic response. A Socialist versifier put it this way:

> When the government was formed anew,
> And the Communists in the cold were left to stew,
> What screaming! Disturbances, strikes, many a secret lament,
> As with their wives they yelled: Hang the government!

The Communists' single obsession has been to overthrow the Fagerholm government. "It doesn't matter what happens to nation or people, as long as the Leino family gets back to taste the sweetness of power."

Communist strategy on the domestic front has been aimed at preventing the stabilization of economic conditions. No trick has been spared. The Communists, controlling about a half-dozen labor organizations, among them the building trades, transport and textile unions, have called work stoppages and wildcat strikes, especially during the late "October campaign"; they have fostered "street and workshop parliaments" to clamor for grandiose panaceas for workers' woes that would wreck the less colorful but sound "work, peace and order" program of the government. To date their efforts have met with failure, thanks to the strong anti-Communist stand taken by most trade unions and the Central Trade Union League, and to the good sense of the overwhelming majority of Finns, who share the prime minister's view that "if we accede to the Communist demands, full anarchy will prevail in our economic life in a short time."

More scandalous have been the tactics of the Communists in the field of foreign relations. The Fagerholm government, these tricksters are telling the Russians, "is allied with the reactionary elements of the country and with British and American imperialists" and "is breaking every article of the peace treaty and the friendship pact." Communist newspapers spread rumors of clandestine meetings between Finnish officials and the American ministers at Helsinki and Stockholm, and with Anthony Eden and Winston Churchill, for the purpose of getting Finland into the Marshall plan, Bevin-led Europe, and the North Atlantic security pact. The thirty-odd S.K.D.L. obstructionists in parliament pen nasty interpellations, insinuating that rifle and hunting clubs are rising up everywhere in Finland, that secret preparations are being made to transform the Aaland islands into an anti-Soviet base, and so on.

The Fagerholm government has refuted these charges quickly and convincingly. For example, when the self-appointed custodians of Finnish-Russian affairs left an interpellation on October 5, 1948, the government answered the same day with a detailed, vigorous and straightforward review of its policy, and won a 147 to 35 vote of confidence. The interpellators, for their part, received a severe scolding from the prime minister: "The Communists have no right to stand in the way of our sincere efforts to achieve friendly relations with Russia. They have no right to hide their domestic political failures by attempts to jeopardize our nation's external status. Moreover, the Communists, too, have obligations to the fatherland. One can allow for a great deal in political battles. But the one thing that can never be forgotten is—one's own fatherland."

Significantly, Fagerholm went on to express "the hope that our eastern neighbor likewise will realize that the campaign which the Finnish Communists have started to discredit their own nation is designed merely and exclusively to cover up their tactical blunders in domestic affairs." The prime minister knows, as does every Finn from president to peasant, that the confidence of parliament or the populace is not enough. The crucial factor in Finnish politics is the Soviet Union. If the Russian Communists continue to permit the free play of political processes within Finland—to date, with several exceptions, there has been no discernible outside interference in Finnish domestic affairs—then the Finns can, as they have ably demonstrated, deal with the threat presented by their wayward, and at this moment crestfallen, brethren.

VI

But the ways of the Kremlin are inscrutable. Who can say that tomorrow may not bring the swift plunge of Damocles' sword? If there are good auguries, such as the willingness of Russia's rulers to negotiate with the anti-Communist Fagerholm government (for example, the recent mutually advantageous trade treaty), the Soviet Union's reduction of Finland's reparations bill, and the conspicuous absence of Russian delegates from the 30th anniversary celebration of the Finland Communist party, there are also disturbing omens—the denunciatory articles which Russian journals like the *Novoje Vremja*, *Trud* and *Literaturnaja Gazeta* have picked up from the Finnish Communist press; the abusive tone of Radio Moscow; and the peevish notes left by the Russian ambassador at Helsinki, which among more routine matters requested the closing of two allegedly hostile plays (one by Sartre, who now has won *Index Expurgatorius* Oscars from both the Vatican and the Kremlin) and the return to Soviet authorities of thirteen Ingrian and East Carelian refugees, described as "Russian citizens."

During the four weeks that have elapsed since writing the lines above, pressure on the Fagerholm government has mounted. Russia, panicky over the pending completion of the North Atlantic pact and angered by Norway's decision to throw her lot in with the Western powers, has become more openly critical of the Social Democratic regime. And within the arena of domestic politics the strong Agrarian League, blinded by its ambition to get back into power, has manifested a strange susceptibility to Com-

munist overtures to join hands in overthrowing the Fagerholm government.

When Väinö Tanner, along with ex-Premier Linkomies, was released on November 21 by the Fagerholm government after serving half his sentence, the wartime Socialist leader compressed into a single message the sum and substance of the yearning of a captive's heart: "The first word that came to my lips as the gates of prison opened, though I may not have said it aloud, was: Freedom. It is a priceless word for individuals and for nations." It is in that spirit of rededication to human liberty that Finland's democrats, invigorated by last year's victories over their own Communists, yet fully aware of their precarious position in the shadow of a powerful Communist state, face unafraid a future that is uncertain, difficult, but worth fighting for.

Why Youth Programs Fail

By Wesner Fallaw

"HOW can the church hold its youth?" When a parson or someone else concerned with the unpredictable behavior of young people asks that question he has to be told the shocking truth: "It can't."

A church cannot hold what it does not have. If it had its youth safely within the fold it would not need to ponder how to keep them there. If they are truly in the church they are there because it has drawn them in, appealed to them, touched the deep places of their needs and woven them inseparably into the fellowship. There are churches that accomplish just this. There are far more that blunder and sadly watch those between the ages of 12 and 24 abandon the churches of their childhood, the spiritual home of their parents, for the fellowship of the peer group—wherever it leads. (Years later, some return, religiously illiterate, wistfully or dutifully bringing their children to the nursery class.)

If a young fellow's peer group abides with the church, he abides. If it forsakes the church for satisfactions that can be got only outside the church, he forsakes the church. The plain fact is that temporarily or permanently most young people give prime allegiance to persons of their own age. Devotion to the group precludes (temporarily or permanently) conformity with parental wishes in respect to church, excludes the claims of the church and often cancels out childhood devotion to God.

An overstatement, in some instances. The problem is not that youth are atheists. Recent investigations at Harvard and Princeton offer reassurance that youth today are not godless. But Luella Cole, the psychologist, surveys numerous studies of youth and religion and concludes that modern youth, though socially and ethically sensitive, are destined to become almost completely divorced from organized religion. Valid or invalid, this prophecy should warn that studies of the religious attitudes of young people have turned up enough evidence to give sectarian protagonists pause.

I

Both the careful student and the casual observer of the religious situation among young people agree that youth grow increasingly impatient with denominationalism. They are politely immune to a church that, in a scarcely veiled manner, seeks to gather them in as fuel to stoke the dying fires of an organization cold with sectarian antiquity. Young people definitely refuse to be exploited by any parson or lay leader whose motive and proffered program are aimed at feeding a starving institution instead of gratifying the spiritual hungers which modern youth still have. It is worse than futile to plead that "your church needs you"—meaning, "Unless you come we will not have a live youth society or a suitable numerical report to make to denominational headquarters."

If these pleas are futile, youth know equally well how trifling is the argument that maintains, "The church will die unless young people bolster it by attendance and loyalty." The harsh truth is that most young people do not particularly care whether the local church lives or dies. And of the church universal they have but the faintest notion, if any. It is beyond their ken—perhaps because the local aberration of the church has obscured the Church.

II

I am not unmindful of massive demonstrations of youth's love of the church at such gatherings as the World Conference of Christian Youth at Olso last year and the United Christian Youth Movement at Grand Rapids last summer. Neither do I forget that many local churches over the nation are now enjoying the fruits of effective appeals and decisive Christian challenges to young people. Ten years ago the American Youth Commission studied 13,500 young people, using Maryland as a representative state. Three out of four claimed church membership. Protestants showed up less favorably than Roman Catholics, yet 39 per cent of the young people from Protestant homes regularly attended church. This is encouraging. Likewise encouraging is the evidence that veterans have a more active interest in religion than they had before their war experiences. Nevertheless, it is clear that institutional religion is acutely unsatisfactory to veterans and other young people alike.

It may be contended that youngsters are today less religious and more ethical than their parents and grandparents were in their youth. By less religious I mean less bound to the church. But they are potentially religious in the sense of holding in readiness high devotion to a Christian fellowship that transcends the sect and its instrument, the denominational church.

A young person, more easily than an adult, finds his church connections at the community and group level

rather than at a sectarian level. He operates within a community context, not within a denominational sphere. Churches might as well realize this and admit that no conceivable Sunday evening variety show can equal the force of the appeal of the group with which a young person habitually consorts. Free dinners and similar bribery by his home church avail little when an adolescent knows that his gang is headed for another church. It is not entertainment that such a youngster seeks; it is communion with his kind, by means of which he may later commune with God.

Not every church can provide the sort of adult leadership that will command the respect and loyalty of a group of young men and women. The group seeks and moves about until it finds a minister or a lay sponsor whose kinship with them is genuine, whose quest for justice and truth is, like that of youth, fresh and growing. If one church in a community of a dozen churches has the right adult leader, it should be encouraged to specialize, ministering to youth of all the churches. Thereby the eleven churches are enabled to specialize in other areas of Christian service to the community. This is a boon, did churches but know it. This is wonderful, did overworked parsons but realize it. For every parson to strive to become expert in youth work is as pointless and impossible as if every man should try to master the principles of atomic energy.

Young people are uncomfortable when their numbers are few. Accustomed to move in flocks during five schooldays a week they feel bereft if caught in a handful on Sunday. It is an elementary fact that few churches actually know how many youth are available within their membership for their youth groups. A bit of stocktaking ought to help pastors and official boards to appreciate the wasted effort involved in trying to pressure young people into "going out and bringing in more members." This approach only serves to drive out the few who are already in.

III

Sponsored by the rapidly growing number of councils of churches in American cities, youth work at the community level is slowly taking shape. Quarterly or more frequently churches are bringing their youth organizations into a single gathering, thus presenting something of a united front while retaining separate societies or youth fellowships which continue to meet in their respective churches on most Sundays.

This procedure presupposes that the separate churches have competent leadership and that their young people actually respond to the home churches. If the system works, if the youngsters like it and support it, well and good—for the present. Yet the fact has to be faced that there are too many struggling youth groups, just as there are too many churches. The life of the separate organization is complicated by denominational programs, literature and rallies, by interdenominational projects, planning committees and mass meetings; in short, by a clutter of organizational machinery all over the place. The whole affair quickly becomes predominantly promotional, eating away at energies that ought to flow into creative development of persons and the Church of Christ.

Ask thoughtful leaders how they reconcile the dual approach of denomination and community and they are silent, baffled. Ask the opinion of young people and their decisive shrugs indicate confusion or displeasure. Undoubtedly there are values in providing for the small, intimate group within the home church while at the same time uniting with other groups on special occasions. But this means that an eventual choice has to be made between two valuable systems: quasi or full ecumenical youth work. The dilemma has to be solved according to the local situation. No general recommendation will suffice. My fear is that a dual approach to church youth work is presenting two masters to be served—the home church and the community.

The reluctance with which churchmen advance Christian unity—whether with adults or young people—stems from clerical fears that denominational strength, local and national, will diminish. But it is by no means certain that Methodist youth who meet on Sunday evenings with Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Disciples at the Baptist church in the Protestant Youth Fellowship will automatically become Baptists. Granted that some risk is taken, I rather think that the young Methodists will continue—or begin—to attend their church for morning worship, and do so with added desire by virtue of having discovered within the interdenominational experience new meaning in Methodism. Let this belief be put to the test!

On the other hand the question has to be asked here, as it must always be asked when serious consideration is given to modifying sectarianism with ecumenical ventures: If the churches are unwilling to lose their lives, how can individuals ever find their lives under the aegis of organized religion?

IV

The "Program Guide for Interdenominational Youth Action" and the study pamphlets published by the United Christian Youth Movement are replete with ventures in religion. Both the U.C.Y.M. organizational proposals at the local level and its outreach toward a world Christian community connote essential simplicity, unification and experiences for which youth long. Practically speaking, the U.C.Y.M. could replace denominational organization (the static) with Christian movement (the dynamic). However, it is not the objective of the U.C.Y.M., or of any other branch of the International Council of Religious Education, to replace denominational programs. But it should presently become clear that if youth are to be guided toward the heights of Christian experience and service, diffused efforts eventually need to be supplanted by a single inclusive Protestant program. Encumbrances now stifling the churches must be shaken off or Christendom will remain ungirded for the imminent battle to the death with secularism.

I hazard the guess that the money now being spent on denominational youth work would, if saved, be ample to provide adequate leadership and equipment for all the communities of the nation. But before that can happen church presses and national boards must put an end to their competition and their wasteful duplication of materials, programs and field services. Once realistic unity of effort is established, seminary students will begin to prepare for ministry to youth in community terms. Once official church bodies determine to assess youth's needs and com-

munity resources to meet these needs, funds will be diverted from denominational drainpipes to feed Christendom's reservoir.

If and when concerted youth work is established, it will not be because of vision so much as because of necessity. The educational level of the population is steadily rising. Public education may be expected to offer progressively finer resources in personnel and equipment. Sterile churches cannot keep pace. Their appeal to youth is vanishing. Unless they recognize their ineffectuality they are doomed to oblivion.

On two fronts youth are ready to advance: on that of community organization and on that of personal and group spiritual needs. Under the latter heading a philosophy and a faith born of Christian essentials, not sectarian trivialities, can emerge that will be satisfying to the soul-hungers of modern youth. When that happens, doctrinal and scriptural investigations will follow upon youth's demands. Primarily activistic, youth still yearn for theological dimensions which they have seldom found within the limits of churches whose principal exertions have been thrown into sheer survival.

So far as American youth are concerned, the denominations with their separated churches can die. Let them! That way Christendom can have its resurrection and Christ's purposes for his church can be fulfilled.

This is the second of two articles by Professor Fallaw on current developments in religious education. The first appeared in the issue for February 9.

BOOKS

Empirical Theism

GEORGE SYLVESTER MORRIS: HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER AND THEISTIC IDEALISM. *By Marc Edmund Jones. Donald McKay Company, $3.75.*

MORRIS is a respected American philosopher, whose biography was written by R. M. Wenley in 1917 and who has been recognized (even if sometimes inadequately) by every standard history of American philosophy. He is well known as the translator of Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy* (1871-73) and the author of expositions of Kant's *Critique* and Hegel's *Philosophy of the State*. He wrote *British Thought and Thinkers* (1880) and *Philosophy and Christianity* (1883), and was editor of a series of German philosophical classics. He also published numerous excellent philosophical articles.

Advance publicity and the statement on the dust jacket (which declares that Morris' work "after half a century of oblivion begins to take on new importance") led the reviewer at first to imagine that perhaps some unknown genius had been discovered. Morris is neither unknown nor a genius. He is, however, a philosopher of real merit, whose name is familiar to all serious students of philosophy. The biography by Dr. Jones is not a report of a sensational discovery, but is a solid contribution to the history of American philosophy and is a marked improvement over Wenley's work.

Jones has, it is true, a certain tendency to set Morris on a pedestal, as though he were almost the only American philosophical theist of the second half of the last century. He overlooks such men as Royce, Ladd, Bowne, Garman and Davidson and barely mentions James, Howison and Harris. But despite this lack of perspective, Jones draws a competent and well documented portrait of his hero, and creates in the reader a deep regret that Morris' career at the University of Michigan was cut short before he had expressed his thought fully. As a teacher of Joseph Jastrow and of John Dewey (who learned much of his early Hegelianism from Morris and for a while was his successor) he exerted permanent indirect influence on American thought.

Morris' approach to philosophy was largely historical, with chief indebtedness to Plato, Aristotle, British and German thought (Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Ulrici, Trendelenburg and Lotze). He was fundamentally a Fichtean voluntarist, yet definitely theistic, viewing the universe as organic and God as final cause. He criticized Spinoza for his lack of moral and personal categories, and characterized his search for truth in the cosmos as "fatal separation from himself and his own individual experience." Here we have a preview of existentialism!

It was impossible for Morris to separate his philosophy from his total personality. This union, accompanied by his desire to propagate truth and mold life by it, Jones calls "evangelical" or "evangelistic"—an odd name for the fact, and having no theological connotation.

This existential idealism of Morris was an "unswerving experientialism." No concepts were used that did not find some exemplification in experience. For instance, he adopted Schopenhauer's dictum that "the world is my idea," meaning that the start of all inquiry is the thinker's own experience. He adopted Hegel's "the real is the rational," because the experience of thought alone enlightens other experience. He viewed God as "self-centered conscious personality," because personality is the highest "image of God" that we find in experience.

The book is rendered more valuable by the inclusion of two articles by Morris. In this age of one-sided and uncritical naturalism and abstract positivism, it is encouraging to find a writer like Dr. Jones who appreciates the solid arguments of Morris for a theism based on experience. Morris is not a helpful guide either in social philosophy or in confronting the problem of evil. But he had a mind of integrity and insight, and is worthy of the attention of us moderns.

EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN.

Books in Brief

THE TEACHING OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, A SUMMARY OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE. *Arranged and edited by Canon George D. Smith. 2 volumes. Macmillan, $12.50.* A work of such scope, weight and authority—not to mention the physical bulk of its 1316 pages—deserves somewhat extended treatment, even though it is for the most part a collection of essays that have been previously printed during the past twenty years (but now out of print). But an extended review would be impossible without making it a discussion of the doctrines themselves, and that would be a critique of Catholic doctrine, not a review of the book. As to the work itself, little need be said save first, that it bears the marks of being completely authoritative, since it carries the full ecclesiastical sanction of the censor and vicar general of the

diocese of Westminster; second, that it covers the whole ground of Catholic doctrine; and third, that the exposition is in as clear and intelligible terms as the intricacy of the material permits. It will be understood that the word "Catholic," in the title and in this comment, is used with the specific meaning of "Roman Catholic," to the exclusion of the Eastern Orthodox and other churches which claim to be equally, or more, Catholic. The editor of the work and the distinguished contributors to it would not, of course, admit that there is any looseness or inaccuracy in this usage, for one item of Roman Catholic doctrine is that the Roman Catholic Church *is* the Catholic Church. The work will be very valuable not only to Roman Catholics but also to other kinds of Catholics and to Protestants who seek reliable information as to Roman Catholic doctrine.

RADIO LISTENING IN AMERICA. *Report of a survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. Prentice-Hall, $2.50.* The first report under these auspices was *The People Look at Radio* (1946). Now they have looked two years longer, and the analysts of public opinion again look into the nature of their response. Any oversimplified summary of their findings would be misleading, for the research problem is a great deal more intricate than one might suppose. Some reasons for that intricacy, I suspect, are that a great many people do not "know what they like" and therefore answer somewhat at random, and that their likes and dislikes change unpredictably, and that many who like or dislike a certain program do not know why. It takes expertness both in phrasing the questions and in interpreting the answers to get reliable information. The Research Center, located at the University of Chicago and directed by Clyde Hart, has developed techniques that seem reliable. Those interested had better read the book. It does not give many dogmatic or hard-and-fast answers, but it is helpful to any who want to criticize and improve the radio.

AND THE THIRD DAY, A RECORD OF HOPE AND FULFILMENT. *Edited by Sir Herbert Grierson. Pictures chosen by John Rothenstein. Macmillan, $3.50.* This "literary [and pictorial] oratorio of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord" is a strikingly successful experiment in a rather novel form. Here is no argument about immortality, except such argument as great art, verbal and visual, addresses to the heart. The selections are from many sources. Between appropriate passages from the prophets and Psalms and the New Testament records are selections from Plato, Virgil (the "messianic" eclogue) and Cicero (Scipio's dream). Later classics, familiar and unfamiliar, are drawn upon. The illustrations are from the classics of art—more than forty full-page pictures, some in color. Generous typography invites the eye.

W.E.G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Barth and Niebuhr

SIR: It is devoutly to be hoped that the editors did not mean "conclude" when they used the word "complete" in reference to the exchange between Barth and Niebuhr. This merits continued space just because Barth is so right in his suspicion that "Anglo-Saxon"—and what appears to me to be more precisely "American"—theology "has not yet seen the third dimension in the Bible."

ARNOLD F. KELLER.
Church of the Redeemer,
Utica, N. Y.

SIR: I have been reading with great interest the controversy between Karl Barth and Reinhold Niebuhr over "Continental vs. Anglo-Saxon Theology." The trouble with both theologians is that they are unsystematic. They are verbose, voluminous, clever and even humorous at times, but seldom clear or precise. It is hard to compare notes in a fog. We need theologians who can create a theology explicative of the actualities of religion in general and of Christianity in particular, such as prayer, sacrifice, baptism, holy communion. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that neither Continental nor Anglo-Saxon theology has the essential tools to do the job.

JAMES M. MALLOCH.
St. James' Cathedral,
Fresno, Calif.

SIR: Nothing in years has given me such a lift as the discussion between Karl Barth and Reinhold Niebuhr. It added several cubits to the stature of my ego. I have been long depressed by my inability to understand either Karl Barth or Reinhold Niebuhr. Now I learn that they don't understand each other. Maybe I am not so dumb after all.

G. S. NICHOLS.
Collegiate Methodist Church,
Ames, Iowa.

Mindszenty

SIR: It is good that the case of Cardinal Mindszenty should so thoroughly have aroused Americans to the monstrous denials of justice under Communist or Communist-controlled courts. The cardinal's case is but the most conspicuous of a long series of cases in the Soviet Union and the satellite nations in which confessions, or what look like confessions, are extorted by strange means from some defendants in political trials, while others are sentenced to death or the slavery of concentration camps without any public trial. Indeed in some of these cases—for instance, the execution of the Polish Jews and vehement anti-nazis, Ehrlich and Alter, by Stalin during the war—there was no public trial at all, no alleged confession, and no public charge even of technical offenses against the government.

But while protest is good, there are aspects of the current protest which are disquieting. It is one thing, and a good thing, to summon defenders of democracy and sincere believers in religion to crusade against Communist intolerance and injustice. It is another thing, and a bad thing, to use language which seems to suggest that the war of the atomic age is the method which the crusaders must embrace to achieve their ends. Surely all thoughtful men, including those most deeply stirred by the cardinal's fate, will agree that the answer is not a resort to war by atom bombs.

It is also disquieting that some protest seems to suggest that there is a peculiar infamy in the trial of Mindszenty because he is a cardinal. There is peculiar political significance in it, but not peculiar injustice. A prince of the church is entitled to the same justice as the humblest peasant or worker, neither more nor less. The humble victims of Communist terror are equally our concern with the most prominent. Inquiry into the exact circumstances of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial, the nature of his so-called confession, and the reasons for it, is important because of the light it may shed on a Communist method of wide application.

Finally, the volume and intensity of American protest lay a solemn obligation on us to show new zeal in protesting denials of justice at home. When a Negro is lynched in Mississippi or the white murderers of a Negro in Georgia go scot free, that should be of even more immediate concern to the lovers of justice in America than the sins of the Hungarian court, because our responsibility is greater.

In the office of the Post War World Council, a nonpartisan body of which I am chairman, we have received apparently well established complaints of horrible cruelty practiced by Franco's police and courts against workers suspected of challenging his

dictatorial rule. Franco is a loyal son of the church. Should it not, therefore, be the serious concern of the pope to find out the truth about these charges and to raise his powerful voice in protest? Would the Chase National Bank match its recent $25 million loan to Franco by an equivalent loan to the Hungarian government? If not, why not?

It is a tragedy of our age that tolerance, mercy and justice are no longer considered of universal application, and that concern for them is used mostly as a weapon by various groups in the ideological warfare of our times.

New York, N. Y. NORMAN THOMAS.

A Radiogram from China

Rejoice over Congregational union. If court proceedings by minority materialize we missionaries hang heads in sorrow and shame.

ALBERT C. HAUSSER.
North China Mission,
Peiping, China.

Merger and the Law

SIR: Dr. Fey said rightly in his report of the Cleveland meeting of Congregationalists that attorneys have figured prominently in the opposition to the merger, but in stating Mr. Fackenthal's opinion that the General Council had no authority to take steps toward union he may have given the impression that that is an opinion held by lawyers in general, which it is not. Three things should be said in this regard:

1. The Congregational Christian merger was consummated without ever being submitted for a popular vote, and so far as I know nobody has questioned its legality successfully. Therefore it would seem reasonable to assume that this General Council could proceed with this merger after securing a 72 per cent vote of confidence from local churches and a much higher one from associations and conferences.

2. The constitution of the General Council *does* make provision for mergers. Article I says: "The name of this body shall be the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches of the United States *until such time as a more inclusive name shall be chosen.*" (Italics mine.) Article III, Section 9, of the by-laws says: "The Commission on Interchurch Relations and Christian Unity . . . shall cultivate friendly relations with other bodies of Christians . . . *in the hope of consummating further union* . . ." (Italics again mine.) These two statements show conclusively that the very framers of that Congregational Christian union considered it as only a step on the way to church union of which the C.C.-E.R. merger is the next great stride.

3. The General Council has had competent, nay, outstanding legal advice all along the way. Chief Justice Maltbie of Connecticut and David K. Ford, chairman of the Committee of Fifteen, are only two of many excellent attorneys who feel sure that there are no insurmountable legal obstacles to the founding of the United Church of Christ.

Many on both sides of the discussion agree with Dr. Palmer that instigators of litigation will stand to lose much more than they may gain by such action. Those who are working for the movement toward unity are confident that the values that will accrue to the Kingdom in the United Church of Christ will be far greater than any property rights or vested interests.

South Portland, Me. N. M. GUPTILL.

Unfair to the Schools

SIR: In your issue of Feb. 9 Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell pleads that educators should get together and try to agree on a program of moral instruction which public school systems throughout the country could uniformly adopt. Yet in the same breath he admits, among other things, that Americans have no agreed-upon ethical standards, Christian or other, that can be taught oncoming generations as a matter of course.

Public schools are glibly criticized for turning out too many graduates lacking even a shadow of reasoned conviction as to the meaning and purpose of human life, and with a scale of values contracted largely from cheap movies, commercialized radio, the press, trashy literature and morbid comic strips. All of which may be largely true. But isn't this really blaming schools for the failures of other social institutions, chiefly churches and homes? Under mass assembly-line education, any school system that manages to produce a fair percentage of literate young men and women among hordes of semi-literates is doing well, and little more should be expected of it.

Berkeley, Calif. S. COYDEN.

Orthodox Church Traduced

SIR: Your editorial in the Nov. 17 issue, "Religious Liberty Fails in Greece," has come to my attention. Because I believe the charge which you make of the non-existence of civil liberties in Greece is utterly and dangerously false, and because your indiscriminate indictment of the Orthodox Church is injurious at this moment when the church is desperately reaching for unity, I write to express profound regret that an editorial so biased and insensitive to the tragedy and suffering of the Greek nation has reached the pages of a magazine as influential as The Christian Century.

You describe the present struggle as "civil strife." If by this you mean that the Greek struggle is merely parochial in character, then it would seem that the presence of American military advisers and British troops is very improper indeed. Every Greek wishes it *were* parochial; it would be far less ominous for the world if that were the case.

The Rev. Mr. Hadjiantoniou did not violate a "church" law. Had a priest of the Orthodox Church violated this same law, requiring all pamphlets to bear the name and organization of the person distributing them, he would as quickly be brought before the courts as was Mr. Hadjiantoniou. When a nation is being assaulted with propaganda as well as bullets, such a law seems to us not unreasonably severe. Three members of Mr. Hadjiantoniou's parish are employed by the Athens Y.M.C.A., of which I am president. Each has stated that he has heard Mr. Hadjiantoniou say that he fully realizes his contravention of the law. He speaks to his parishioners in a repentant mood, but writes as a martyr to American Protestants. He cannot be sincere in both.

The Jehovah's Witness is in jail for the same reason as were scores of conscientious objectors in the United States when America's existence as a free nation was challenged.

Athens, Greece. A. G. PASPATI.

[The Greek conscientious objector referred to by our correspondent has been executed.—THE EDITORS.]

They Aren't C.O.'s

SIR: Regarding your editorial concerning the arrest of conscientious objectors after the suspension of the draft: We object to your use of conscientious objector and non-registrant as synonymous terms. Non-registrants are subject to arrest as lawbreakers, not as c.o.'s as you imply. There is no basis for the arrest of a majority of c.o.'s who registered according to law.

Evanston, Ill. C. GREY AUSTIN,
ELWYN BURKE.

Why Prison?

SIR: The increasing number of articles and news reports in your journal concerned with trials of men who refused to register for the draft causes me to desire editorial comment. You have made it clear that you consider the imprisonment of such men a miscarriage of justice, but you have not gone further to suggest how this might be rectified without further miscarriage of justice.

I write in sincere confusion, not to express an opinion. If you were the judge in such a trial, what would you do? Most of the judges seem to recognize that they are not dealing with criminals nor yet eccentrics. It is probably very distasteful to them to sentence such men to the penitentiary. What can they do to uphold the law? Is there any morality in merely disregarding the law?

Granted that the draft should never have been enacted—and it seems more unnecessary now than ever—can your journal offer us more than just a lament over these fine young men who thus languish in prison?

JAMES WM. MORGAN.
First Methodist Church,
Georgetown, Tex.

[The inequitable treatment given the young men being sent to prison is shown by the fact that other young men, found

guilty of the same violation of the law, are being paroled or given suspended sentences. Punishment, in other words, is at the personal whim of the judge.—THE EDITORS.]

Not for the Movies

SIR: I have just read W. E. Garrison's review of *The Big Fisherman*, by Lloyd Douglas. The implications are that Dr. Douglas wrote that book for the motion pictures. That implication is as plain as daylight, and unfair. If Mr. Garrison had made the slightest effort to ascertain the facts, he would have known that when Houghton Mifflin announced the book the first thing they said was that Dr. Douglas was withholding this book from the movies, and that he would not permit it to be put on the screen.

Boston, Mass. WILLIAM L. STIDGER.

Confirmation from Japan

SIR: I have read with interest Robert Root's "Japanese Vacuum" (Dec. 1). I was delighted with the exactness and conciseness with which he described the present religious situation in Japan and his valuable suggestions regarding the future position and activity of Christianity. I also agree with Mr. Root that communism is rapidly gaining strength among our youth. I myself, as a high school teacher with Christian faith, feel responsible for this spread of materialism among students. But I firmly believe Christianity will win by the power of truth.

Nara City, Japan. KEIZO MITSUZUMI.

Charles A. Ellwood

SIR: I am engaged in the preparation of a biography of the late Charles A. Ellwood, formerly professor of sociology at Duke University and the University of Missouri. This work was begun at Dr. Ellwood's request. I should be very grateful to any readers of The Christian Century who could furnish me with biographical material, such as authentic anecdotes and reminiscences of Dr. Ellwood.

466 West 35th St., JOHN E. OWEN.
Los Angeles 7, Calif.

Communist Professors

SIR: You imply that the Communists on the faculty of the University of Washington were using academic freedom as a cloak for advocating communism in their classrooms. You write of "Communist professors who plead for freedom to spread communism." To my knowledge, the men dismissed from the University of Washington faculty were not accused of propagandizing for communism in their classes. They were not asking for freedom to spread communism in their classes at the University of Washington. They were discharged because they were, or were suspected of being, members of the Communist party, which has a legal existence in this country. They were not charged with breaking a law.

Are you defending the proposition that a man shall not be allowed to teach in a university because he belongs to some unpopular or undemocratic organization, when such membership is within his rights as a citizen?

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST,
Professor of Education.
University of Chicago,
Chicago.

[The question raised was as to the intellectual freedom to teach of an enrolled member of the Communist party. Our editorial paragraph sought to avoid dogmatic conclusions, but to raise questions which are very real in our minds.—THE EDITORS.]

Freedom of the Press?

SIR: The encroachment of the Roman Catholic Church on the freedom of the press is illustrated in a recent incident here in Columbus. On Jan. 22 the *Ohio State Journal* published a story with a picture of a priest who had renounced his vows and married outside the church. Bishop Michael J. Ready called for a boycott of the *Ohio State Journal* and thousands of subscriptions were canceled. He further threatened the paper, I am informed, with the result that an apology was printed in the edition of Jan. 24. Also I am reliably informed that the person handling the story was discharged.

JOHN TAYLOR ALTON.
Columbus, Ohio.

Strange Happenings

SIR: Your reference to the recent marriage of Tyrone Power and Linda Christian (Feb. 9) recalls an even more flagrant case. Some years ago an opera singer and movie director were married with great to-do in the old mission in Santa Barbara. Both had been married and divorced; the woman was a member of the Roman Church. The explanation published in the daily paper was that as she had not given her consent, the church annulled her marriage, and as the man's previous marriage was solemnized by a Protestant minister, the man had not really been married at all, so the church was competent to marry them to each other. The fact that couples marry themselves and the church—of whatever kind—only solemnizes the marriages seems never to occur to the Roman Church.

There seems hardly any regulation which the Church of Rome is not able to get around if the circumstances warrant. It is not always the case that the Roman Church forbids mixed marriages unless the Protestant party signs an agreement that the children shall be reared in that church. I know of a case where the matter was not pressed, two Roman priests acted, the child of the marriage was baptized and later confirmed in the Episcopal Church. Had I not seen it with my own eyes, I should have doubted it, but I saw a Methodist layman buried by the Grand Lodge of Missouri in a Roman cemetery and the local priest had the last word, explaining that he was not acting in his official capacity but as a friend of the family, the widow being an ardent member of the Roman Church. I wonder whether that night the priest may not have returned and "took the curse" off the cemetery.

Santa Fe, Calif. WALTER MITCHELL,
Retired Bishop (Episcopal) of Arizona.

Not the A.C.L.U.

SIR: Our attention has been called to your issue of Jan. 19, page 86, describing the recent conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. In the account of a resolution on the trial of the twelve Communist party leaders in New York, your reporter says: "Harry F. Ward, grand old man of both the federation and the American Civil Liberties Union, which is preparing to defend the men, presented the case as the final crisis for democratic rights in this country."

Evidently your reporter got the American Civil Liberties Union confused with the Civil Rights Congress, an agency under Communist control, of which Dr. Harry F. Ward is honorary chairman. Dr. Ward has not been connected with the American Civil Liberties Union since 1940 when he resigned on the issue of the exclusion of Communists from its directing committees.

The American Civil Liberties Union is not defending the twelve Communists, but it wholly opposes that prosecution or any other under the 1940 Sedition Act which it regards as unconstitutional.

New York, N. Y. ROGER BALDWIN.

Basic

SIR: Mr. Baily objects to Simeon Stylites's "blood, face water, and eye water" as a malicious caricature of Basic English. Let us try the *Basic English New Testament*, published by the proponents of Basic as a classic of their language. That will be no caricature. Well, in it I read in the Sermon on the Mount:

"Give to him who comes with a request, and keep not your property from him who would for a time make use of it. You have knowledge that it was said, Have love for your neighbor, and hate for him who is against you; but I say to you, Have love for those who are against you, and make prayer for those who are cruel to you."

And in Paul's speech at Athens:

"So that they might make search for God, in order, if possible, to get knowledge of him, and make discovery of him, though he is not far from every one of us: for in him we have life and motion and existence; as certain of your verse writers have said, For we are his offspring."

The revered Simeon was avowedly presenting a satirical cartoon. Cartoons are legitimate journalism, and very useful for puncturing wind-bags. But, on the evidence of the *Basic English New Testament*, the cartoon was a recognizable portrait, even if it did lengthen the nose a little.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.
Ballard Vale, Mass.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Denies Political Acts in Bulgaria

President Stamm of Federal Council Says Protestant Aim Was Only to Provide Relief

NEW YORK, Feb. 23.—The contacts U. S. Protestants have had with Protestants in Bulgaria have been solely religious and humanitarian, Bishop John S. Stamm, president of the Federal Council of Churches, declared in a statement issued this week commenting on reports that 15 ministers in that country have been arrested on charges of treason. "American Protestants, primarily through their overseas relief agency, Church World Service, have sought to aid the impoverished war-stricken people of Bulgaria on the basis solely of need," Bishop Stamm said. "No politics has been involved, and it is my understanding that the Bulgarian government has been fully informed about our relief program and has welcomed it. There is no world political power in Protestantism. The Evangelical churches, like other Protestant denominations throughout the world, are independent autonomous bodies. Their autonomy is in no wise impaired by membership in such cooperative bodies as the World Council of Churches. Each church speaks for itself."

Protestants Warn Against 'Crusade'

Although many New York area Protestant ministers in sermons, and church groups in resolutions, deplored the action taken by Hungary against Cardinal Mindszenty and the arrest of the Bulgarian Protestant ministers, at the same time they sounded a sober warning. F. Howard Callahan, pastor of the Methodist Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew, Manhattan, told his parishioners they should keep in mind the distinction between the Roman Catholic religion and Catholic political action. "Just now the leading spokesman for the Roman Church in America wants political action and is calling for a crusade against communism because Communists have tried Cardinal Mindszenty," he pointed out. Karl M. Chworowsky of Flatbush Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, told his congregation that "while we have no illusions as to the justice and undemocratic procedure of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial before a Communist court, we also have few illusions as regards the Roman hierarchy's claims as to the complete and unqualified innocence of the Hungarian cardinal." Ralph W. Sockman of Christ Church (Methodist), Manhattan, deplored the "vicious" Mindszenty trial, but noted that the conviction of another Hungarian churchman, Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass, "did not even get passing notice last summer." Prayers for the cardinal and a special pastoral letter calling him a "Christian martyr" were read in churches of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Long Island.

Conduct Hearings in Melish Case

During the past week hearings were held at Cathedral House, Garden City, on the demand by a majority of the vestry of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, for the resignation of the rector, John Howard Melish. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of the *Churchman*, termed the hearings "a nice 20th century inquisition." In a letter this week to Bishop DeWolfe, Dr. Melish denied the vestry petition's contention that his age (74) is so great and his physical condition so impaired that he can no longer fulfill the duties of his office. He also denied that there is "widespread dissension" in the parish, charging that such dissension as may exist is due to the activities of the signers of the petition and a "small minority of the members of the parish who have agitated against me and my son because our political and social views do not accord with their own." The public and reporters were excluded from the closed sessions of the hearings.

Cite Negro Progress In 35 Years

After a conference discussing the organization's 35-year activities report, officials of the Phelps Stokes Fund this week declared that the most significant development in modern history has been the progress of Negro Americans and peoples of African descent in other areas. Channing H. Tobias of the fund was the principal speaker at an interracial service sponsored this week by the Free Synagogue in cooperation with the Presbyterian Church of the Master (Negro), the Japanese Methodist Church and the Church of the Divine Paternity (Universalist). All who spoke at the service agreed that a "sizable breach has been made in the wall of racial and religious prejudice."

Salvation Army Services Expand

Figures cited in the Salvation Army's 44th yearbook, published this week, disclose that the army, as of last Sept. 30, had 17,329 corps and outposts in the U. S. Meals supplied to the hungry during the fiscal year totaled 22,785,427; beds provided, 9,294,358. Work was supplied to 26,609 men, and 43,759 situations were found. Internationally the army maintained 418 shelters, hostels and food depots; 109 homes accommodating 6,356 children; 71 women's industrial homes; and 82 hospitals, clinics and dispensaries which served 505,451 outpatients and 71,270 inpatients. It was in 1897 that 20 men went forth from Hogan's alley, on New York's lower east side, to gather wastepaper, old furniture and clothes, thus initiating what today has grown to be a movement in which more than 900 Red Shield trucks operate in communities from coast to coast.

And So Forth

Ten Baptist churches in Brooklyn on Friday will launch the local phase of the Northern Baptist Convention's "Ten Day Cooperative Crusade for Christ Through Evangelism." In each of the 10 churches a "crusader" will preach and lead a program of home visitation. Area chairmen will coordinate the work of the crusade. A mass evangelistic rally will be held Feb. 28.

"We Would Be Building," a program dramatizing the problems of building new churches in the U. S., was telecast Sunday on station WJZ. J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Presbyterian Men Plan Lay Crusade

New National Organization Will Combat 'Godlessness, Materialism'—Urey Warns Pastors of Crisis

CHICAGO, Feb. 24.—Plans for a nationwide crusade to arouse Presbyterian laymen "to combat godlessness and materialism" and "to increase the influence of Christianity at family, community and national levels" were drawn up by 500 Presbyterian men meeting in the Palmer House here Feb. 12-14. This first annual convention of the new National Council of Presbyterian Men, authorized by the 160th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in Seattle last May, took action officially forming the new organization. Charles J. Turck, president of Macalester College, was elected president of the council. He told the men that most Presbyterian laymen take the wrong attitude toward taxes and government planning for general welfare. "Not financial cost, but a reasonable estimate of the social good that can be obtained should be the deciding factor in the citizen's approach to government planning," he said. He urged Presbyterians to strive for complete separation of church and state. Jesse Hays Baird, president of San Francisco Seminary and moderator of the General Assembly, told the delegates that too many laymen have time for all good causes except Christianity itself. The convention set a goal of enlisting 80,000 laymen in the church's evangelical program.

Scientist Warns Ministers On Modern War

Scientist Harold C. Urey warned the more than 500 ministers attending the annual ministers' week at Chicago Theological Seminary—the registration was twice as large as last year's—that the time is short in which to do anything about the crucial world situation. He said the real problem is not the atomic bomb, but modern war, which has become "so effective that victors and vanquished will be almost equally destroyed." Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam declared that the unity and reunion of Christendom is essential to the strategy necessary for Christian world conquest. Much interest was aroused by Harold Bosley's lectures on "The Minister as Preacher" and the workshops on "Pastoral Counseling" led by Seward Hiltner and on "Group Dynamics in the Church" led by Prof. Ross Snyder.

Force Springfield Catholics To Give Up Bingo Games

Bingo games which had been conducted for seven years in the old Catholic cathedral in Springfield have been discontinued following threats by State's Attorney G. P. Coutrakon to send police to raid the church. Although defending the practice of conducting such games in the churches, Msgr. John B. Franz, administrator of the Springfield Catholic diocese, agreed to comply with the closing order. He asserted that "the same puritanical Calvinistic men-

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tality of exclusive righteousness which gave us bootlegging and little else" is threatening to take over the state's attorney's office. The prosecutor, on the other hand, said the law makes no distinction between gambling for benevolent purposes and for private profit, and that it is impossible to draw a line between the two.

Reveal Racial Discrimination In Illinois Employment

Need for a fair employment practices bill in Illinois is strongly indicated by a special report on employment opportunities in the state just issued by the Illinois interracial commission created by a special act of the last general assembly. Public hearings on employment conditions were held in various sections of the state, practices of the offices of the Illinois state employment service and more than 100 commercial employment agencies were studied, and information concerning their employment policies was received from 1,601 manufacturing and mercantile firms. An analysis was made of job advertising in 21 of the state's larger newspapers, and testimony was received from 17 civic organizations dealing with discrimination. The findings tell graphically the inferior status of non-whites, particularly Negroes, in seeking employment. Total denial of employment to non-white workers was revealed in more than half of the 1,601 firms returning the commission's questionnaire, while 90 per cent of the non-manufacturing firms and 58.3 per cent of the manufacturing firms have less than 5 per cent non-white workers.

And So Forth

Four hundred delegates attending the annual convention of the National Association of Methodist Hospitals and Homes here during the week of Feb. 13 discussed government subsidies for private hospitals, extension of social security and the importance of religion in the program of the modern hospital.

The 100th anniversary of the founding of the first Disciples of Christ congregation in Chicago was celebrated Feb. 22 in all 27 churches of that denomination in the city.

Bishop Wallace E. Conkling of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago has joined with other clergymen in praising the *Chicago Daily News* for publishing in 40 installments the entire text of Fulton Oursler's life of Christ, *The Greatest Story Ever Told.*

First minister of the new Congregational Christian Nisei Church here will be George Aki, formerly minister of the Japanese Congregational Church in Fresno, Calif. Mr. Aki was one of two Japanese-American chaplains in the U.S. army during World War II.

Mrs. Harlan E. Walley of East Chicago, Ind., has been elected president of the National Fellowship of Congregational Christian Women.

Petitions circulated by the social action committee of the Rock Island (Ill.) county council of churches have resulted in the first recall of a Rock Island county grand jury to investigate complaints of gambling in 26 years.

John Scott Everton, dean of the chapel at Grinnell College in Iowa, has accepted the presidency of Kalamazoo College in Michigan.

VIRGIL E. LOWDER.

Virginia Churches Supply Chaplains

Through Interdenominational Foundation They Provide a Ministry for All the State Institutions

RICHMOND, VA., Feb. 22.—Virginia is unique in that the religious work in its state institutions is provided by the churches, not by the state. "Virginia church leaders hold that the work of the chaplains in prisons, industrial schools, hospitals, sanatoria and colonies presents a missionary opportunity for the church, and is not a function of the state," explains Emmet M. Frazer, director of the Interdenominational Religious Work Foundation. Eleven denominations compose and support the foundation. Director Frazer is assisted by seven staff members who, together with some 200 ministers who give their services one day each month, carry on the programs of worship and counseling. The full-time workers are located in the larger institutions, and Mr. Frazer travels and supervises the work throughout the state. The foundation sponsors a prisoners' emergency aid fund, built up by contributions of individuals, classes and clubs, which is used to give released prisoners a new start, aid their families or meet emergencies not covered by social agencies.

Comity Plan Would Provide for Better Church Distribution

The annual meeting of the Virginia council of churches held here Jan. 25-26 voted to submit to its constituent bodies for endorsement a series of comity principles which would govern location and organization of new churches or abandonment of overoccupied fields. It was recommended that all local councils of churches or ministerial associations set up committees on comity composed of representatives of the cooperating denominations, ministers and community and welfare planning experts. The plan would "endeavor to effect modifications in the number, placement, equipment and program of churches to match changes in the community such as growth or decline of population, altered character of different areas of the community, emergent needs and the challenge of specific deficiencies or evils." Practically, it would operate to prevent the development of more churches in an area than the community could reasonably support. The council was urged to support the admission of Negroes to white colleges and to the state university. Gordon B. Hancock of Virginia Union University cited the example of Arkansas in admitting Negroes to its university. "I think Virginia is the state to lead the way and not follow Arkansas," he said. F. D. Goodwin, Episcopal bishop of Virginia, was elected president of the council. Miner C. Miller is executive secretary.

Judge Charges Adoption 'Black Market'

Judge J. Hoge Ricks of Richmond's court of juvenile and domestic relations created no little stir recently when he urged better provision for the care of delinquent children and for handling the adoption of "unwanted babies." "As a result of the lack

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of cohesion among several agencies which are just outside the province of 'adoption,' mothers are giving away their babies without supervision or they are selling them, also without supervision." The traffic in give-away babies is known in the language of the social worker as the "gray market"; in "bought" babies, as the "black market." Judge Ricks added his voice to that of E. P. Boyden, superintendent of public welfare, who has said that the adoption situation in the Richmond area presents a "sordid picture." Topping his list of needs for "delinquent" children, the judge urged the building of a new detention home. The old one is unsatisfactory and unfortunately located.

Say State University Fails To Fulfill Aims

On the basis of a study made by the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* to ascertain which of our several state-supported educational institutions of higher learning attracts the most graduates from Virginia high schools, it is revealed that Virginia Polytechnical Institute ranks first, the College of William and Mary second, and the University of Virginia third. Virginia Military Institute, with a far smaller total enrollment, stood lowest. Comments the *Times-Dispatch*: "The foregoing demonstrates beyond question that the University of Virginia is not the sort of 'capstone' of the state's public school system that Thomas Jefferson envisioned, or that President Darden hopes to make it." President Darden has indicated that in many cases Virginia families have been unable or unwilling to meet the cost of keeping a son at the university, but that another reason is that the fraternities and other societies have broken up the student body into cliques, so that boys who do not "make" these organizations feel left out. While he was governor, he obtained from the university's board an agreement that when new dormitories, a social hall and a dining hall were built all students would live in the dormitories for the first two years and eat in the dining hall, and that they would not be allowed to join a fraternity until their second year. The new buildings have not yet been erected.

And So Forth

F. G. Ribble, dean of the University of Virginia law school, recently returned from the third UNESCO conference held at Beirut and Damascus. Dean Ribble served as legal adviser to the U.S. delegation and helped draw up an international agreement covering the exchange of educational books among UNESCO organizations in various countries. Arrangements are to be made for the international exchange of teachers and students, Dean Ribble said.

Virginia's mental hospitals are admitting an average of 300 patients monthly, according to Dr. Joseph E. Barrett, state commissioner of mental hygiene and hospitals. Over 67 per cent of the patients are unable to pay anything, or can pay only a small part of their expenses.

The end of 1948 was marked by the layoff of 4,200 Virginia factory workers, reports John Hopkins Hall, Jr., state labor commissioner. There was a 10 per cent reduction in the number of wearing apparel workers, and a 6 per cent reduction in the number employed in food processing plants.

F. W. Burnham.

CROP Carloads Aid the Hungry

Farmers' 8-Month Contribution Through Christian Rural Overseas Program Valued at $4,246,363

Chicago, Feb. 25.—Heartened by the response of farmers in 26 states last year, regional and national officers of the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) in a meeting at headquarters here have decided to extend the enterprise to all 48 states. Last year 1,500,000 rural families cooperated in the venture by contributing gifts in kind to relieve hunger and suffering abroad. In 43 countries, the farm products were distributed through church channels by representatives of CROP's parent agencies—Church World Service, Lutheran World Relief and Catholic Rural Life. Distribution was solely on the basis of need, without regard to religious, racial or political affiliation.

From June 1 to Feb. 1, 2,120 carloads of food valued at $4,246,363—the equivalent of 42 "Friendship Trains" of 50 cars each—went abroad. As was to be expected, the grain-producing states led the march, but states which specialize in other crops were effectively represented. Iowa gave 321 carloads, followed by Illinois with 237, Michigan with 172, Indiana with 162, Minnesota with 152, Kansas with 141, Ohio with 135, Nebraska with 127, and Missouri and Wisconsin with 100 each. This listing does not necessarily mean that the given number of cars was actually loaded in each state; because values of different kinds of produce vary considerably for the same bulk, CROP has estimated the average cash evaluation for a carload and divided that into the total contribution from each state. The carload method of shipment was decided upon early in the game to keep expenses as low as possible and to prevent small shipments from going astray or getting into black markets overseas. Since the program was launched in August 1947, losses in the course of shipment have been held to only four-tenths of one per cent.

How the Program Works

The idea of sending gifts in kind from American farmers to hungry people overseas was born in the minds of a half-dozen men in the summer of 1947. Among them was John D. Metzler, then in charge of material aid for the Brethren Service Committee at the Windsor, Md., relief depot. Today Metzler is national chairman of CROP, heading the work of state committees which represent the three sponsoring groups. From the first, the program was sponsored by Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief. Then so many Catholic farmers came in voluntarily on the local level that last June Catholic Rural Life became a cosponsor.

State CROP directors work with advisory committees on which all major church and farm groups are represented. Together they set up a campaign schedule and a goal for the state. Much of the food on the original Friendship Train came from communities in which CROP committees were already at work. The four Abraham Lincoln Friendship Trains, which started to roll on Feb.

12 last year, picked up 293 cars of farm produce (Nebraska alone contributed 110). After that, it was decided to launch state trains at times which best suited local harvests—in California, for instance, when nuts and dried fruit were available; in Oklahoma, for the early wheat harvest; in the Dakotas, for the later reaping. In July, Wisconsin sent on their way 16 cars of dried or evaporated milk and a car each of peas and dried eggs. By September all 18 carloads were at sea, bound for Germany, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

A Christmas Offering

CROP's biggest concerted effort of the year was the Christmas Train project, launched officially during Thanksgiving week. Governors in agricultural states proclaimed CROP days or weeks, pastors devoted sermons to the drive, farm organizations and county agents joined in, newspapers got out special CROP supplements and radio stations gave free time. Contributions were varied. More than half the total was grain. The South Dakota train of 87 cars, filled with grain, soy beans, canned and dried meat, dairy products, dried fruit, flax, oats and wool, was ready Dec. 1. At National City, Calif., Gold Star mothers canned 1,300 quarts of tomatoes. Brown County, Kan., farmers set up at 14 points cribs which were soon bursting with corn; so was the 500-bushel crib that graced the state capitol grounds at Columbus, Ohio. In Texas, children gleaned cotton from the fields, while in California children gathered the prunes which regular harvesters had missed. With the cash which came in from town-dwellers in all state drives, additional goods were purchased. By Dec. 8, 100,000 volunteer workers had received gifts from nearly 1,000,000 persons.

At Christmastime, when the cars were ready to roll, a public dedication ceremony was held in each state. There were also ceremonies at shipside in Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle.

Proves Double Blessing

The CROP effort has been a blessing to countless persons overseas, principally the aged, the ill and the very young. But it has also done something for the rural Americans who contributed to it. As Mr. Metzler said recently: "We must keep in mind that here is another institution through which all of us can reach God." At the recent meeting at headquarters here, Herbert C. Lytle of Church World Service reported that the cooperation of the various religious groups in the program has had a "definitely worthwhile influence on church life in general." His views were echoed in a recent radio address by Msgr. Luigi G. Ligutti.

The state department considers the program so important that it devoted seven programs on its "Voice of America" broadcast to CROP's activities. On one of these programs Louie D. Newton, chairman of the organization's southern advisory committee, told overseas listeners: "These gifts from your friends in America will assure you that . . . our one desire is to join with you and all the peoples of the world in building a better way of life."

CROP's effort for 1949 is being spurred by reports from relief workers of the three parent agencies abroad that the need of the hungry and desolate is as great as ever. In a recent statement to CROP officials, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan declared that despite some improvement, the food situation in many countries is still very critical. The program will go ahead undiminished, giving to rural Americans through their local churches and farm organizations the opportunity to prove that they are really their brothers' keepers.

MARGARET FRAKES.

Cross-Burning in Miami

Klan Demonstration Against Sermon by Negro Followed by Civic Ban

MIAMI, FLA., Feb. 22.—On the night of Feb. 12 the Ku Klux Klan set two crosses burning in front of the 600-member Miami Shores Community Church to remind the congregation not to observe Brotherhood Sunday the next day in the manner it had planned. Then it paid a call on Edward Graham, pastor of the Zion (Negro) Baptist Church, who had been scheduled to speak at the community church on Sunday evening. Meanwhile, Donald Douds, pastor of the community church, received a number of anonymous telephone calls threatening violence. The result was that the plans were canceled and the pulpit was occupied instead by Andrew W. Gottschall, regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Three days after the incident, and perhaps indirectly as a result, the Miami city council passed an emergency ordinance banning cross-burning and similar demonstrations and the wearing of hoods or masks for the purpose of concealing the identity of the wearer "except traditional holiday masks."

Gradually Increasing Tolerance

Two years ago when Mr. Douds suggested to his church's men's club that they invite a Negro to address them, they voted 40 to 2 against the idea. A year later the official board decided that the pastor could invite a Negro pastor to any service of the church except that held on Sunday morning. This year when Mr. Douds announced that Mr. Graham had been invited to speak at the evening service the board went a step further by voting 28 to 10 to establish a policy of freedom of the pulpit at all times. A few members have threatened a split, intimating that they will withdraw unless the church changes this new policy, but as a whole the members see more clearly than before what the equality of all Christians before God means, and have come to believe more strongly in brotherhood, democracy and freedom. The Feb. 12-13 incident, it would seem, has served to strengthen and unite the congregation, which has learned one lesson well: that the church itself must become a laboratory for Christian experiences in brotherhood.

For years there has been a cordial pulpit interchange between this interdenominational congregation and Temple Israel. The fellowship of understanding and appreciation which has grown as the groups worship together is significant in this city, where considerable interfaith prejudice exists. Two weeks before the cross-burning, the Florida Chain of Missions brought to

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Miami an interdenominational team which had as one of its members Rosa Page Welch, who sang and spoke to appreciative audiences in White Temple Methodist and Boulevard Christian churches, as well as to an interracial gathering in the University of Miami's new student center.

GEORGE EARLE OWEN.

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Challenge Stand Of Communists

In Philadelphia Debate, Minister Pits Christian Doctrine Against Ideas of Local Party Secretary

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 23.—"This is the first instance in the United States in which the Christian church has challenged official communism into the open to defend its cause against Christian truth." Thus Charles Shaw, C.B.S. radio commentator, described the debate held at the University of Pennsylvania under the auspices of the Philadelphia Methodist conference's commission on world peace and social service, its board of education and its woman's society for Christian service. In his coast-to-coast radio broadcast, Mr. Shaw predicted a "new tactic in the church's battle as a result of the debate," which he also featured as the "story of the week" over station WCAU. In the debate, Harold Paul Sloan, pastor of Wharton Memorial Church here and formerly editor of the (eastern) *Christian Advocate*, attacked communism for its "dialectic materialism, abolition of morality, distortion of truth and brutalization of man." None of his charges was refuted by his opponent, Edward Strong, Texas-born son of a Negro Baptist preacher and chairman of the Communist party in Philadelphia. At the supper conference, A. J. Muste, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, pleaded for peace-waging and unilateral disarmament programs.

Sponsor 'Trial of Christian Youth'

The youth council of the Philadelphia council of churches during Youth Week sponsored at Arch Street Methodist Church a "trial of Christian youth" for worthiness of the name "Christian." The jury acquitted the defendant, portrayed by Herbert Barnes, University of Pennsylvania senior, on charges of spending leisure time in pleasure and of following non-Christian youth in intemperance and immorality, but found him guilty of biblical illiteracy and failure to support and attend his church. On two charges—practicing racial discrimination and failure to choose a vocation from service rather than profit motives—the jury was divided. The panel was headed by Lewis S. Mudge of Princeton, national U.C.Y.M. Parshad award winner for 1948. On behalf of the city, Judge John A. Mawhinney, active Methodist layman, who presided, sentenced Christian youth to one year's probation. Three youth leaders witnessed for the prosecution, two for the defense.

Methodists Seek to Double Adult Attendance

Charles E. Schofield of Nashville, editor of Methodist adult church school publications, told the Philadelphia and Delaware county Methodist preachers' meetings recently that the denomination is aiming to double present adult Sunday school class enrollment. In these classes 1,500,000 persons are now enrolled, but 3,000,000 adults in the Methodist constituency are still unreached, Dr. Schofield said. He described

a succession of study units that will be prepared to deal with the fundamentals of the Christian faith in keeping with the Methodist emphasis of the next four years.

Quakers Work with Both Jews and Arabs

Prof. Moses Bailey of Hartford Seminary, who recently returned from three months in Palestine where he set up the American Friends Service Committee's refugee service in five Israeli communities, reports that the Quakers have worked with both Jews and Arabs and hope to unite them in a common project. Eleanor Stabler Clarke, just back from helping out in Quaker clothing distribution in central Europe, says she found it "heartbreaking to clothe one child while 10 others in rags stood watching." According to a report from Peiping to Quaker headquarters here, the Communists have shown willingness to work with the faculty of Yenching University on problems of higher education in China. It has been announced that all 1949-50 courses at Pendle Hill, Quaker center at Wallingford, Pa., will be designed to prepare students to take part in physical, intellectual and spiritual reconstruction for both individual and society at home and abroad.

Set Objectives for Presbytery

Lewis M. Stevens, new lay moderator, has announced the following objectives for the Philadelphia presbytery: a core of people in each church concerned not so much with organizational duties as with a burning desire to create human relationships which will bear the seal of Jesus' approval; increases in ministers' salaries to meet the current cost of living; progress toward ending social and economic discrimination based on race; a new effort to reach working people; and cooperation with the council of churches' program to receive, house and employ D.P.'s in this area. The presbytery has reaffirmed its endorsement of the proposed state fair employment practices law.

And So Forth

The Philadelphia Christian youth council is sponsoring a hat and shoe drive for overseas relief.

A thousand women attending the 25th annual luncheon of the council of churches' women's department heard an address by Edwin T. Dahlberg of Syracuse.

The annual meeting of the Pennsylvania council of churches featured a service honoring its president, Bishop John S. Stamm, in recognition of his election to the presidency of the Federal Council of Churches.

President Raymon M. Kistler of Beaver College has been named chairman of the Pennsylvania united Protestant crusade.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.

Cincinnati Group Evaluates Comic Books

In Cincinnati a Committee on Evaluating Comic Books, made up of some 50 people who work with and for young people, has devised a set of criteria for judging individual comic books. Since it was set up in May 1948, the committee has evaluated 323 such books. It rated 54½ per cent "objectionable" or "very objectionable"; 45⅓ per cent "no objection" or "some objection." A list of the approved comic books and detailed information on the criteria used in evaluation may be obtained from the committee at Box 1486, Cincinnati 1.

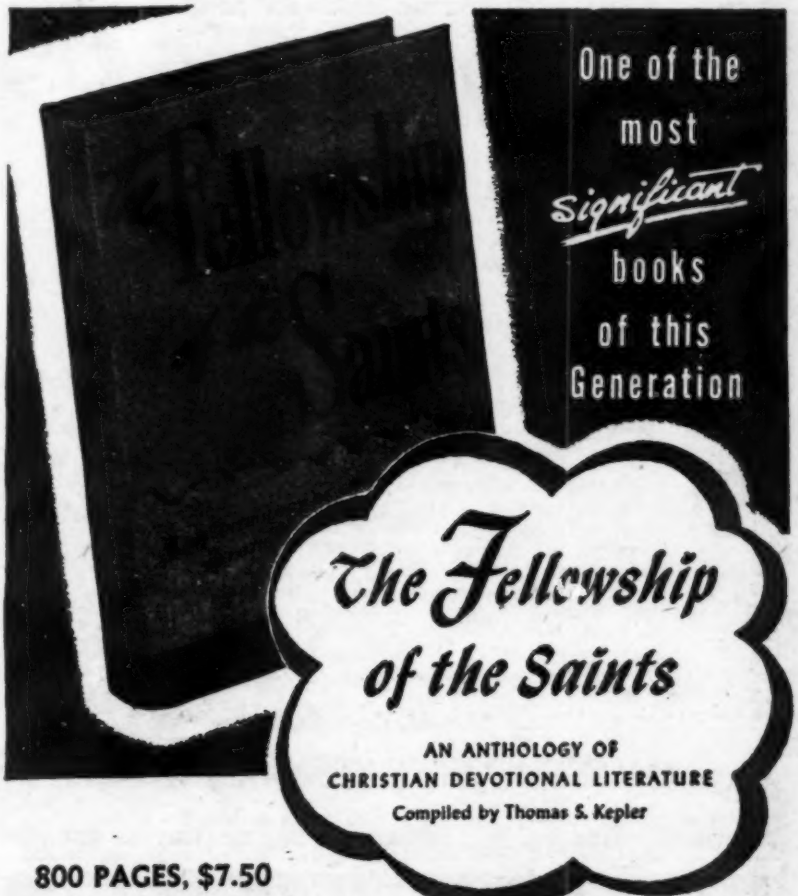
Bangkok 'Y' Expands

Building Extension Will Serve Students—Siam Adopts New Constitution

BANGKOK, SIAM, Feb. 4.—Through funds made available by the International Y.M.-C.A.'s International Committee, a new wing has been added to the Collins memorial branch of the Bangkok Y.M.C.A. The new facilities will enable the "Y" to house additional students in this overcrowded university city. Mrs. Edwin Stanton, wife of the American ambassador, participated in the opening ceremonies Jan. 26. In August the Bangkok "Y" will be host to an Asian leaders' conference to be held under the auspices of the World's Y.M.C.A.

New Constitution Accepted

In a move which part of the local press hailed as the "greatest day in the democratic history of Siam," but which another section treated very coldly, the parliament in joint session on Jan. 28 voted to accept the constitution which had been drafted by a constituent assembly. At roll call there were 5 abstainers and 40 absentees, among them the prime minister. The newspapers stressed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the fact that two members of parliament who sought to express their disagreement with the proposed document were shouted down or forced by the chair to desist from speaking, and pointed out the inconsistency involved in such denial of the right to comment. Parliament had been authorized only to accept or reject the constitution, not to offer revisions. Among the 400-odd members of the constituent assembly which drafted the document was one Christian, Inton Singhanetr, who is also the only Christian to have served as a member of parliament, losing his seat in the November 1947 change of parties. Singhanetr, a lawyer from Chiengmai, is one of a famous family of Christians.

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Church Leaders Stop Off In Siam

Bangkok is the crossroads of the Southeast Asia airlines. The trek of Christian leaders through Asia brought to the city during January Dr. and Mrs. Jesse Wilson of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society; Elsie Culver, formerly of the Church World Service staff; Dr. Bertrand de Luze, minister under appointment to the Protestant Church at Saigon, and Mrs. de Luze; and Dr. E. Stanley Jones. Dr. Jones reminded Christian workers in Siam that even if Asia goes communist, the Christian message remains valid, and that Christians should therefore be prepared to proclaim the gospel, even to Communists. Nine missionaries have arrived from China for temporary or permanent assignments under the Presbyterian Mission here. Some have begun working with the Chinese congregations in Bangkok; others are attached to the Siamese Christian schools and the mission hospital. This correspondent will make Bangkok his base for working with the student Christian movements in Asia.

Laubach Directs Literacy Drive

Frank Laubach, "apostle to the illiterates," in January began the work of organizing a national literacy campaign at the invitation of the Siamese department of education's adult division. The drive will continue through March. Dr. Laubach is training a large number of teachers, preparing materials suited to rapid teaching and conducting demonstration projects in villages. He is being assisted by Saroen Chairat, stated clerk of the Church of Christ in Siam and chairman of the General Assembly's committee on literacy.

And So Forth

Paul Warren of Baltimore and Claude S. Conley, executive of the Pennsylvania synod of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., are here for three weeks this month initiating the New Life Movement under the auspices of the Church of Christ in Siam. They will visit five centers in addition to Bangkok, holding conferences with church leaders for the purpose of training them in methods of Christian nurture and church extension.

The joint committee of the Church of Christ in Siam and the Presbyterian Mission is preparing to open a theological seminary at Chiengmai next fall with at least seven students, and more if governmental permission can be obtained. Requirement for enrollment is the equivalent of a high school education.

Siamese delegates to the Asian leaders' conference sponsored by the World's Student Christian Federation at Kandy, Ceylon, at year's end have reported to Bangkok audiences that evangelism should be the primary purpose of student Christian movements, and that the church in Siam must put forth extra efforts to produce Christian leadership that can take its place alongside such leaders as D. T. Niles in Ceylon.

WINBURN T. THOMAS.

Reformed Churches to Study Religious Restrictions

At the recent meeting of the western section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., a committee was appointed to make a thorough study of the "invasion by political and ecclesiastical despotisms of the principle of religious freedom" for consideration at next year's session. John A. Mackay is chairman of the committee.

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Malan Rejects Churches' Plea

South Africa Prime Minister Refuses to See Delegation Presenting Their Stand on Race

STRAND, C. P., SOUTH AFRICA, Feb. 11.—Prime Minister Malan has refused to see the deputation which the Christian Council of South Africa organized to present to him the strong resolutions passed by the annual assemblies of the Christian churches condemning the government's native policies from the standpoint of Christian teaching. The deputation had sought to present the resolutions to the prime minister in person and discuss their content with him. The correspondence on the matter has now been published. Dr. Malan's letter refusing to see the deputation describes the churches' resolutions as "extremely one-sided and exaggerated" and continues: "Apart from their present political intent, they obviously, though impliedly, stigmatize the existing as well as the traditional policy of the country as unjust, oppressive, anti-Christian and immoral." So far as the reference to the alleged demands of Scripture and Christianity is concerned, the prime minister writes, he disagrees with the interpretation in terms of political theory and practice, and "finds himself unable to agree that such interpretation ever can be the monopoly of any particular person or church or group of churches."

Durban Riots Focus Attention On Serious Tensions

The racial riots in Durban were exaggerated somewhat in reports overseas, but were nevertheless serious. The Africans who rioted did not confine their attentions to the black-marketeer Indians. The disturbances served to shock the country into a new awareness of its racial tensions. The government has appointed a judicial commission to inquire into the riots. For this action, and for the measures to restore order and organize relief, Senator Edgar Brookes, noted Christian liberal, expressed appreciation in an address to the Institute of Race Relations. "To condemn those concerned, however, is not enough," he said. "This riot was not the work of political agitators. The rioters were frustrated men, many of them living for years in slum conditions. Their grievances were many. My considered conviction is that South Africa as a whole and the causes which many of us have at heart are in the deadliest peril they have ever faced, and we shall make a mistake if we let ourselves be soothed by a few kind words here or there into unawareness of this mortal danger." To give a clear lead to church people in these circumstances, the Christian Council of South Africa plans to hold a conference in July on "The Christian Citizen in a Multi-racial Society."

Government Abolishes Native Council

Racial tension has not been eased by recent government pronouncements. The Native Representative Council (a sort of parliament of African leaders, but possessing only advisory functions) adjourned *sine die* under the previous government in protest against discrimination. Recently it was called together under the new government, and William Mears, secretary for native affairs, was charged with telling it that it was to be abolished. In reply, the council has called on the government for a full statement of policy. Addressing the council,

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Prof. Z. K. Matthews, African professor at Fort Hare Native College, said: "There cannot be peace in the country without good relations between the people. . . . Whatever policy may be substituted, unless it is the result of cooperation between Europeans and Africans, it will not succeed. Europeans cannot solve the problems of the country by unilateral action."

New Commission Must Proceed On Segregation Principle

The widespread opposition to certain restrictive measures announced by the government regarding non-European races has brought a temporary halt to their implementation. Prime Minister Malan has proposed, and Paliament has adopted by a small majority, a motion providing for the appointment of a commission composed of members of both houses to investigate the native question and report by Jan. 31, 1950. It will be different from the admirable Fagan commission, one of the many appointed in recent years, in that it will consider the detailed application of the principle of racial segregation, which is laid down as one of the terms of reference. Says the *Cape Times*: "If the reference to the policy of *apartheid* [segregation] means that the commission is bound to accept the Nationalist policy in full . . . many members feel that no purpose would be served by the United party's serving on the commission." (Members of the opposition would be invited to serve, but they would be a minority.) The *South African Weekly*, leading religious journal, remarks: "Senator Brookes, who certainly would prefer to see a just and wise solution built up on a non-party basis, has reached the conclusion, in our opinion rightly, that developments have reached a stage at which the grave perils can be exorcised not by appeasement but only by fight."

Education Plan Identifies God with Nation

Under the auspices of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies, the Institute for Christian National Education has published a pamphlet setting forth a plan sponsored by two of the present ministers of state to provide for "Christian national education." In November the Nationalist party congress urged immediate adoption of the scheme. Now it has been given careful attention by the Education League, which has published an analysis under the title "Blueprint for Blackout." The league says that the plan specifies that "all Afrikaans-speaking children must have a Christian nationalist education," that all education must be nationalist, and that non-white children must be brought up according to the view of life of "their senior trustee, the Boer nation." It notes further that "God and the fatherland are called upon in almost every paragraph; ignorant people will, therefore, feel that the policy must be pleasing to God and beneficial to the fatherland." A leading educator says: "Throughout this pamphlet, the words 'Christian' and 'national' are equated." All this is of grave significance for the country and the churches, since the provincial authorities are in charge of education, and the provincial councilors are scheduled to be elected on a party-political basis in March.

STANLEY G. PITTS.

Give New Rights To Norse Laymen

Bishops Decree That in Special Cases They May Be Consecrated—Deacons to Administer Sacraments

ROSKILDE, DENMARK, Feb. 15.—The Norwegian bishops' meeting has decreed that in certain special cases laymen may be permitted to administer the sacraments. The ruling will apply to Christian lay workers in hospitals, penitentiaries and other institutions. It will also apply in remote parishes where the pastor has no assistant to help him administer communion to large congregations. A special liturgy has been formulated by the bishops for the consecration of these new lay workers. With the bishop's permission, a pastor may consecrate laymen to work as deacons within the church, with the right to baptize communicants and distribute the Lord's Supper.

Plan Closer Ties Between U.S., Norwegian Lutherans

Having been informed by the Norwegian consul general in Minneapolis that the Norwegian conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church has been nominated to further contacts between the denomination and the Church of Norway, the bishops' meeting issued a formal statement thanking the sister church in America for "taking the initiative to preserve and strengthen the Christian heritage which we have in common." The meeting appointed Bishop Arne Fjellbu, General Secretary H. E. Wallöff and O. G. Myklebust as a committee to study what might be done from the Norwegian side to strengthen ties with the American churches.

Poll Considers Swedes' Attitude to Church

In Sweden a "Gallup poll" has been taken on the basis of 30 questions to determine the attitude of the Swedish people toward the church. Seventy interviewers made 963 interviews in 20 cities and 38 towns of varying size. The interviews revealed that 47 per cent of those questioned had been to church at least once during the first six months of 1948; of these, 7 per cent were regular churchgoers. Ten per cent declared that they never go to church and never listen to religious services on the radio. On the question of Bible reading, 16 per cent reported that they read the Bible regularly, 27 per cent occasionally, 23 per cent seldom, and 34 per cent never. Thirty-three per cent said they regularly say an evening prayer, 84 per cent teach evening prayers to their children, and 88 per cent permit their children to be baptized. All except 6 per cent of those interviewed have been confirmed.

Danish Y.M.C.A. Establishes 'Marriage School'

In an effort to counteract the rising divorce rate, the Danish Lutheran work among young people (Y.M.C.A.) has instituted a "school for marriage." On five successive Saturday evenings different problems of married life are treated in lectures and discussions. Afterwards, the young peo-

ple attending the course will be given opportunity to have their individual problems dealt with in special meetings. Among the phases of married life considered are engagements, sexual matters (taught by a doctor), the housing shortage, home arrangement, legal and educational problems of the family, music in the family, and marriage in poetry and in reality. It is also planned to start a counseling bureau for young people approaching marriage.

Bishop Wurm Thanks Danes For Hospitality

Just before he retired, Bishop Wurm of the Evangelical Church in Germany sent to Danish Bishop Fuglsang-Damgaard a letter thanking the Church of Denmark for the work it did with the more than 200,000 German fugitives who were interned in Denmark and have now returned home. Writing as president of the German relief organization Hilfswerk, Bishop Wurm said: "The Danish church was the first to help these fugitives, even though several men of that church, such as the unforgettable Kaj Munk, became victims of the war's terror. . . . I must also thank you for the spiritual and human aid which was given to our fugitives. Three years behind barbed wire is a long time, and it is no wonder that many of them were bitter, but I can assure you that they realize now that they have returned to Germany how much they owe to Denmark and the Danish church."

And So Forth

Emigration from Denmark has risen to the levels of the twenties and early thirties. In 1945 only 14 persons left this country to settle elsewhere; in 1946, the number rose to 408, and in 1947 to 907. Last year 1,221 Danes emigrated to the U.S., 436 to Canada, 83 to Australia, 54 to New Zealand and 46 to Argentina. Although it is hard to get an immigration visa for the U.S., that country is still considered the "promised land" by most Danish emigrants.

The Inner Mission, the pietistic wing of the Church of Denmark, has announced a boycott of the three women pastors in the church. Its adherents will not go to hear the women preach, it says, nor allow them to preach in any of its assembly halls.

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Current Feature Films

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M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Chicken Every Sunday (Fox) Dan Dailey, Celeste Holm. *Comedy* set in Tucson, Ariz., 40 years ago. By taking in boarders, long-suffering but whimsical mother seeks to keep roof over family's head in spite of father's grandiose business ventures which never quite work out. Sure-fire comedy situations directed mainly as farce, so that the characters, particularly the boarders, come through as types rather than as people. *Undemanding comedy fare.* M,Y,C

High Fury (U.A.) Madeleine Carroll, Ian Hunter, Michael Rennie. *Drama.* Crisis brought to ill-matched Swiss couple when evacuated French orphan in their care refuses to leave with other children at war's end. The husband's jealousy leads to friction, but in the end he sacrifices himself for boy on mountain climb. Photographed in beautiful Alpine village and using many non-professionals, film is *appealing, simple,* though action sometimes seems contrived. M,Y

The Lucky Stiff (UA) *Melodrama.* As lawyer probes casually into "protection" racket, employing as ghostly bait singer only rumored to have been executed for murder, corpses, complications multiply. Frantic efforts to be funny at expense of crooks and dead bodies *falls flat,* while events are more confusing than suspenseful. M,Y

The Wake of the Red Witch (Rep.) Luther Adler, Gail Russell, John Wayne. *Melodrama.* In the South Seas of the 1860's, feuding between sadistic Dutch exploiter and his double-crossing captain, with ship sinkings, salvage operations, native orgies, underwater fights with sea monsters, etc., etc. Unbelievably *incoherent* in its effort to get everything imaginable into one grand whole, with much action patently faked, peopled by an assortment of unprincipled rogues. M,Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: The Boy with Green Hair, Deep Waters, Fighting Father Dunne, The Hills of Home, I Remember Mama, Melody Time, Nanook of the North, Olympic Games of 1948, The Search, The Secret Land, So Dear to My Heart.

For Mature Audience: The Accused, Apartment for Peggy, Canon City, Day of Wrath, Four Faces West, Hamlet, Johnny Belinda, A Letter to Three Wives, Live Today for Tomorrow, Paisan, Pitfall, Red River, The Red Shoes, Shoe-Shine, The Snake Pit, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre. 3-9-49

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